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THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF  
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Cambridge University Press  
FETTER LANE

NEW YORK • TORONTO

BOMBAY • CALCUTTA • MADRAS

Macmillan

TOKYO

Maruzen Company Ltd

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# THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF ENGLAND AND WALES AND ITS RECENT HISTORY

by

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CAMBRIDGE  
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1935

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

## PREFACE

This book was originally planned by Professor J. Dover Wilson, of King's College, London, who kindly placed his notes at my disposal. He contributed the greater part of the first chapter and almost all the second chapter. But for the book as a whole I am entirely responsible.

H. W.



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# THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF ENGLAND & WALES AND ITS RECENT HISTORY

## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this book is twofold, to give as clear a description as possible of the national system of education in England and Wales and to indicate the main events in the growth of the system during the present century. The words 'national system' occur for the first time officially in the Act of 1918, where it is declared to be the duty of the council of every county and county borough to contribute to 'the establishment of a national system of public education available for all persons capable of profiting thereby'. They mark the earliest open recognition by Parliament that the public service of education is a whole with a definite purpose before it. But the 'educational system' in England and Wales may fairly be treated as covering more than education publicly provided, as including agencies and institutions which are not 'public' in the sense of the Act. It may also fairly be called a national system. System does not necessarily imply a clock-work organisation: national does not mean complete state control or direction from a centre. The phrase does imply coherence, and an organisation which, if not rigid, is yet without unacknowledged gaps: it connotes the co-operation of various forces, not the rivalry of contending powers, with the general public acceptance of ideals and no vital difference between them. This book will assume that, in spite of admitted imperfections, there is an educational system in England and Wales and that it may properly be called national.

The recent history under survey in this book is that of the last thirty-five or forty years. The growth of English education

## INTRODUCTION

during the nineteenth century is adequately treated in large treatises which cover either the whole period or some particular aspect of education. It will occasionally be necessary to refer in the following chapters to outstanding occurrences in the last century, especially to certain Acts and certain Commissions, but only so far as they may throw light upon the history of the present state of education. The end of the nineteenth century, if we do not try to define it too accurately, marks the close of one period in English education and the opening of another. It was only then that a national system of public education was really founded, when by the Board of Education Act of 1899 a Central Authority was established and by the Balfour Act of 1902 all three types of education, elementary, secondary and technical, were brought within the scope of both the Central Authority and Local Authorities. These two Acts created the framework of a public system, with the development and the present state of which we shall be concerned. It will be necessary to describe the reactions of the public system upon what remained of the system or want of a system that preceded it, and to show how alongside public education—state education as it is sometimes called—education apart from the state continues and functions in full vigour. For this union of education directed by private effort and education directed by public authorities is one of the great characteristics of the period.

## CHAPTER I

### EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND ABROAD

#### i

Education in England is at once very old and very young. There are schools in this country that claim foundation before the days of King Alfred. On the other hand, the vast majority of pupils and students now receiving instruction receive it in schools and colleges of nineteenth- or twentieth-century origin. This combination of antiquity with recent growth helps to account for the irregular character of English education. It is the public part of education which is new; the older and more imposing institutions are independent of the state, though not as we shall see entirely beyond its purview. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge are as old as Parliament itself. Winchester was founded in 1382, Eton in 1440, Shrewsbury in 1552, Westminster in 1560, Merchant Taylors' in 1561, Rugby in 1567, Harrow in 1571, and so on. On the other side, we have the multitude of elementary schools, none of any great age, embracing all but a small proportion of the child population and leading on to our modern municipal secondary schools and our modern technical institutes and universities of various kinds. The result is a curious structure, very puzzling to foreign observers. They find it difficult to realise, for example, that the English central department of education, which we call the Board of Education, is a mere mushroom in comparison with the ancient institutions just mentioned, and that it has no control whatever over them though the statesmen and officials who direct its destinies have generally themselves been educated within their walls.

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Yet though the ‘public schools’ and the older English universities lie outside the state system, that system is built on to them just as modern shops, factories, villas, cinemas and banks in many of our older cities nestle about some ancient castle or cathedral. And the connection is not merely chronological or geographical, it is spiritual also. New ideas freely penetrate into our Public Schools from without in spite of what their critics say, while every elementary school in the country is different from what it would otherwise have been had not Thomas Arnold gone to Rugby in 1828. The presence of these ancient institutions too helps us to realise that education is not the invention of the nineteenth or even the twentieth century. The three grades, university, secondary, elementary, were all present in England in the Middle Ages, nor are the educational ideas of our time as new as some of us are apt to imagine. What *is* new in the modern world is the existence of state systems of education based upon compulsory attendance.

Before the nineteenth century, education was for those who liked that sort of thing, or for those who needed it for professional purposes—priests, doctors, lawyers, administrators. To-day, education is a universal need and, what is more, it is claiming a larger and larger share of the life of the individual citizen. Compulsory education for children did not become the law of the land until 1880 and complete attendance was then made compulsory only up to ten years of age. By the Act of 1918 the age of compulsion was raised to fourteen, and that Act even foreshadowed part-time compulsory education up to eighteen, while since the publication of the First Hadow Report in 1926 we have all begun to be reconciled to the prospect of whole-time education up to fifteen, though we have not yet been able to afford it. Furthermore, there is much talk to-day about adult education, an expression which would have sounded strangely in the ears of our fore-

fathers. The truth is man is coming to see that education, rightly interpreted, is a life-long process.

Why should he be coming to see this just now? and for what reason do modern civilised states impose education upon their whole populations? These are not idle questions, and it is well to consider them a little at the opening of a book, the purpose of which is to describe education in modern England.

It is always dangerous to give simple answers to complex historical questions, but we may perhaps distinguish two main causes for the rise of compulsory education in modern times. The first, in a word, is that tremendous change in man's whole habit of life and social outlook which we call the Industrial Revolution. The industrial civilisation of to-day is so highly organised and at the same time so specialised that an individual left to cope with it without a special preparation—in other words a special schooling—would find life a very difficult matter. One has only to think for a moment how essential the ability to read is to existence in a modern city. A complete illiterate would not easily extricate himself from our underground railway system if he once got sucked into it! In short, education is required for all because of the ever-widening gap between child-life and adult-life, a gap which widens as civilisation becomes increasingly complex. It is more difficult to grow up than ever before.

And the other root cause of compulsory state educational systems is the rise of strongly marked and often mutually hostile social groups within the civilised community. We shall enlarge upon this point a little later, but first of all let us note a fact that lies behind both causes. One and not the least important function of education is to act as a transmitter of social tradition and culture. Without education of some kind no society could live. Even the most primitive tribe has its initiation ceremonies, and the further civilisation advances the greater the burden of tradition and knowledge that must

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be transmitted; until in our own day, as has just been said, we are beginning to realise that the initiation process is a lifelong one. We can now see why the growth of strongly marked social groups within the bosom of civilisation has tended to stress the importance of education. In the Middle Ages, Europe was a single community, a Christendom, deeply conscious of its unity and of its difference from the pagan world around it, but divided within itself rather by horizontal than by vertical distinctions; it was grades in the feudal system that mattered, not national frontiers. There was much strife and battle, but between the lion and the unicorn fighting for the crown, rather than between peoples of different cultures. How different is the world of our time, a world of nationalities, of religious societies and economic communities, all highly self-conscious and often hostile one to another!

It was the break up of Christendom in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that provided the first great impetus to popular education. Protestant churches saw that only by securing the transmission of their doctrine through education could they survive. Moreover, protestantism depended upon the worship of a book, *the book or The Bible*, and this meant that reading acquired an importance greater than it had ever possessed previously. There are parts of Europe, Lutheran in denomination, where the people have been able to read for centuries, for the simple reason that no one could be confirmed unless he could read to a pastor and that no one could be married unless he had been confirmed. Reading was necessary to salvation in Calvinist and Lutheran countries. This is one reason why Scotland, Germany, Scandinavia and Switzerland have been so progressive in educational matters. It also helps us to understand the enthusiasm for education in the United States of America.

Catholic countries were at first less eager to adopt popular education, since the Catholic church does not encourage the

uninstructed judgment of the individual; but the reformation brought awakening here also. It took the form of a counter-reformation, led by the Jesuits, the militant wing of the church, the most self-conscious part of the catholic society, who realised that education was essential to the preservation of the faith against the 'heresies' of protestants and others, and who became the great educators of catholic Europe and extended their activities to the new world and to Asia.

England lies between these two extremes. 'The English', says Professor Trevelyan in his *History of England*, 'though in some ways the most religious people in Europe have never been clerically minded—they liked neither priest nor presbyter.' Ecclesiastically the least self-conscious society in Europe, we have attached less importance to doctrinal education than most other peoples, and this is one reason why we have been slower than some other countries in acquiring a national system.

The influence of religious denominations and religious creeds in the field of education is very far from being exhausted. It formed the main obstacle to the passing of the Education Bill through the House of Commons in 1931; it gave rise to the famous Tennessee case which proscribed the teaching of modern biological notions in certain parts of America; it has caused serious difficulties between the Papacy and the Fascist régime in Italy. Yet everywhere for some time past the religious denominations have been faced with a powerful rival in their struggle for the soul of the child and the gateway to the future. That rival is the state. The outstanding fact of modern history is the rise of great competitive national states, highly self-conscious and therefore almost nervously anxious to preserve their national cultures. The most striking examples are the two great communities which through the nineteenth century faced each other across the Rhine, each organised and centralised for war, and therefore

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each possessing an educational system which (i) has controlled and manufactured opinion, (ii) was designed to produce an efficient officer and official class, and (iii) was itself immediately responsible to the central authority. For, it should be noticed, the intensity of life within the social group determines not only the amount of education it possesses but also the character of the educational administration. Is modern education then a by-product of religious and political animosities, the cynic may ask? It certainly seems to be so in part, and organisation for war has probably contributed more than any other single factor in modern history to the foundation and development of national systems of education. But this does not mean that war is necessary to education. All it signifies is that education flourishes best in highly self-conscious societies and that up to the present European national states have been most self-conscious and most united in time of war. The abolition of war will not get rid of rivalry between nations; and we cannot doubt that if the world succeeds in substituting for the rivalry of armed forces a rivalry in the things of the spirit, such a rivalry will stimulate education far more than political animosities have been able to do in the past. The example of the United States of America, which we shall presently consider, shows, moreover, that an ardent national consciousness can express itself through a system of popular education without a thought of animosity or rivalry with other nations. Furthermore, it is interesting to observe that, where war plays its part, national defeat has often proved as fruitful for education as national victory, and that while the one tends to stimulate primary education, the other has usually been followed by advances in higher education. A few words about the educational systems of France, Germany and the United States will serve both to illustrate the foregoing remarks and as an introduction to the consideration of our own system which follows.

The origin of the educational system of modern France was a military one. Napoleon founded it in 1808, since he realised that in education lay his only hope of perpetuating the empire he was setting up. Napoleon built wiser than he knew; his system has survived all the political changes since his time and is to-day one of the greatest and most admirable educational systems in the world. But Napoleon, whose main object was to procure officers for his army and administrators for his new state, cared for little except university and secondary education; and French education is still strongest in these spheres. It was not indeed until after 1870, when France was beaten at Sedan by the better educated army of the Prussians, that she came to realise the necessity for universal primary education, which she made free in 1881 and compulsory in 1882. The lesson Prussia taught her was a twofold one: first, that an educated rank and file was an immense asset in a modern conscript army, and second, that in a time of grave national peril an ignorant and illiterate population might be both burdensome and dangerous. Prussia was the first modern state to make popular education an instrument of national policy, and her sudden dramatic rise to power was a great advertisement for education, which did not fail to attract the attention of other states besides France. The Education Act of 1870 in England actually preceded the Franco-Prussian War, but the defeat of Austria by Prussia in 1866 had warned British statesmen what to expect and W. E. Forster's speech introducing the bill was clearly influenced by the events in Europe. At a later date Japan and other countries have likewise followed Prussia's lead in education.

The downfall of the Second Empire left France a democratic republic but a military one; she is still a military democracy, and will remain military until some permanent

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terms of peace can be decided with her neighbour. Her educational system reflects this fundamental national necessity both in its structure and its spirit. It is controlled from top to bottom by a bureaucratic machine, very efficient but highly centralised and, though ultimately answerable to the legislature through the Minister of Public Instruction, really independent of it. The French secondary schools, again, *lycées* or *collèges* as they are called, would seem to most English boys like barracks inspired by military ideals and controlled by a military discipline. There is nothing corresponding with the self-government invented by Arnold and now found in practically every English school of whatever grade, though on the side of instruction French education can probably claim to be our superior. Finally, the influence of Napoleon and the perpetual menace of war is shown in the absence of any broad ladder from the primary to the secondary school, a remarkable feature in a country so democratically minded as France. There is, of course, no system of schools closed to all but a special social caste, like our so called 'public schools', but though figures are hard to come by, it is doubtful whether it is anything like so easy for a boy with brains to climb from the primary school to the university in France as it is in England.

The Prussian educational system has a history at once similar and significantly different from that of France. Its origin was likewise war and the needs of war. Frederick the Great laid its foundations and Wilhelm von Humboldt was its architect. But unlike that of Napoleon, von Humboldt's system was devised not to consolidate victory, but to preserve a nation in the hour of defeat. The result was that, though university and secondary education were very far from being neglected, the real emphasis was placed upon the schools of the people. The battle of Jena, 1806, which laid Prussia at the feet of imperial France, was the stimulus, and out of that

valley of humiliation came the Prussian primary schools which under the inspiration of Pestalozzi became the wonder and model of Europe. And as we have seen it was to these schools in the main that the triumph of Prussia a generation later was due. Nevertheless, the failure of the democratic revolutions of 1848 and the very successes of 1866 and 1870 shifted the emphasis in education in a significant fashion. The new empire, like all military empires, tended to develop the secondary and university sides at the expense of the primary; and though the Prussian popular school still remained a most efficient instrument of instruction, it lost towards the end of the nineteenth century much of its freedom and elasticity. Furthermore, as in France, the administration of education was highly centralised, and the Minister of Public Worship and Education held office as a crown appointment. Thus Prussian education up to the War was largely a state machine for the creation of an army, a civil service and public opinion, while the passage from the elementary school into the sphere of higher education was even more restricted than it was in France. Since 1918, of course, there has been a complete change. Defeat once again proved the mother of educational progress, the outstanding token of which was the law compelling attendance at the state primary schools from the children of all parents, whatever their wealth or their rank. The effects of the new régime under Herr Hitler have not yet completely revealed themselves.

It is not difficult to see why disaster or a threat of it should thus work in favour of popular education. At such times a nation is most keenly conscious of its solidarity; class barriers become of no importance; distinctions of wealth and rank appear insignificant; all citizens are felt to be equal when all are passionately united in an equality of sacrifice and endeavour. Even in our own country we have tasted this spirit. The Education Act of 1902 was not unrelated to the humili-

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tion we received in the Boer War; and the Act of 1918 was passed through the House of Commons in those months of the last year of the Great War—in retrospect months of spiritual exultation—when everyone was acutely conscious that our civilisation was fighting in the last ditch and that the enemy might at any moment break through the Western Front.

To turn from Europe to America is like turning from a region of active volcanic action to a smiling pastoral plain; and the educational system of the United States symbolises the difference. In a country without enemies, without frontiers that matter, a country pursuing its undisturbed development with the Atlantic rolling between it and European problems, we find a system of education more decentralised and more democratic than any other in the world. There is an extraordinary variety of type and standard as between different states; there is an excessive localisation in administration; and in the schools there is complete equality of opportunity.

The puritan tradition had a good deal to do with the origin of education in America and, as we have seen, the puritan tradition laid great emphasis on the necessity of schooling. On the other hand the variety of colonial settlements produced naturally a great variety of institutions, and these differed from colony to colony according to the traditions and religious outlook of the colonists. Thus there was an initial incentive towards difference, and the subsequent development of the country has emphasised this. The history of the United States has been called the history of the moving frontier, and as the new pioneer communities moved across the great plain they had to live a practically independent existence and to develop their own schools. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, however, the continent being now colonised from east to west, the various state administrations have

every year gained more and more control over the districts, though as yet there is no national control of education.

On the other hand, both elementary and secondary education are completely free and open to all. Elementary education is compulsory up to fourteen in most states, while the children of practically all American citizens attend the elementary school, which is therefore not an institution for a particular class of people as it has been in England. Secondary education is free to all who wish to attend. There is, in fact, not a ladder of education, but a corridor. The elementary school and secondary school are end-on to each other. The common primary school attended by all and the easy access into the secondary school are the two great distinguishing features of the American system. Before the War, in Germany about one in every 10,000 scholars passed from the elementary to the secondary school; at the same period 2800 in 10,000 did so in the United States. Yet the balance is not all on one side. It is well recognised and admitted by American observers themselves, that the general standard of higher education in America is considerably below that in the great European states. There are several reasons for this; but three, which are probably the chief ones, may be singled out for mention. In the first place it is difficult to maintain a high standard in educational institutions which are open to all of whatever intellectual capacity; and the curious system of elective studies which allows the parents of the pupil to go some way towards determining the curriculum he follows does not make things easier. In the second place, in the absence of military conditions and international rivalry, the United States has never been subject to the necessity of building up and maintaining a high standard of intellectual equipment for the staffing of an army, a navy and a bureaucracy. And thirdly, America lacks tradition and a system of social grades, both of which tend to emphasise the importance

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of higher education for the select few. A well-known English Director of Education after a visit to the United States sometime ago put the difference between their system and ours in the following words: 'The American system is on a popular basis, its ideal is to give as much education as possible to the people as a whole. The English plan is to give an indispensable minimum of education to everyone: beyond that to select carefully a comparatively small number (not by any means all) likely to repay education in the full sense, and to put it within their power by removing financial obstacles'.

The outstanding fact about education in America is that it is believed in. Indeed, it may almost be called a religion with the American people, and it would be difficult to find any country in the world which places a higher value on it. Why is this, it may be asked, when war and nationalism which have played such a large part in modern educational developments in Europe are almost entirely absent across the Atlantic? The answer is that the United States has a problem to deal with which forces its citizens to lay an even greater emphasis upon the transmission of culture than the peoples of Europe. Not only is it a new country without traditions of any kind, and therefore obliged to create them, it is also the melting pot of Europe. It has the almost impossible problem of digesting immigrants from all parts of the world and making them into American citizens. The educational system of America is the national stomach which performs this digestive process. And its boast is that it can do so within a single generation.

### iii

The foregoing brief historical survey of the educational systems of France, Germany and the United States of America reveals two divergent types or tendencies, representing as it were the poles of educational structure, to one or

other of which education in most modern civilised states, not excluding those of Fascist Italy and Bolshevik Russia, will be found to conform more or less closely. These types are (i) a centralised system, rigid in structure, which though tending towards a high condition of efficiency and high standards of instruction, is also open to the charge of inelasticity, together with lack of initiative, experiment and variety, and which is further liable to accentuate social inequality, however democratic the state may be from the political standpoint; and (ii) a decentralised system, very loose in structure, full of variety and life, making for social fluidity and equality of opportunity, and yet suffering from excessive provincialism and lack of a common standard.

To which of these categories does education in our own country belong? If we could confine our attention to the public system, that is to say, to educational institutions provided or supervised by the state, the answer would be that education in England appears to strike a mean between the foreign extremes. Our state education is 'provided through and by local authorities', and so is able to secure diversity, experiment and even an element of competition. Yet it is also supervised and to some extent controlled by the central authority, which means that inefficiency is checked and laggard authorities are kept up to the mark. This does not of course imply that the English state system is perfect or even that it is better than the other systems we have been considering, from each of which we have much to learn. We may indeed claim that our educational administration is one of the best in the world; but when we compare it with administrative systems abroad, we are at once struck with one remarkable feature—its modernity. Educational administration in England is extraordinarily young, barely thirty years old in fact! A central department, of a kind, has existed since 1833; the Act of 1870 established local authorities, also of a kind,

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known as School Boards; it was not however until parliament passed the Board of Education Act of 1899 and the Education Act of 1902 that this country possessed anything like a comprehensive machine, central and local, for the purpose of public education.

Even so, as we have seen, the most important institutions of higher education remain outside the sphere of state action. Viewed therefore as a whole, education in England appears to be something unique in the modern world, although not without tendencies which seem to point it along the path that other nations have followed. Its salient peculiarity, a peculiarity which distinguishes it sharply from education elsewhere, is the part that private enterprise and voluntary association have played in its development, and still play. In almost every department the endeavour of private persons or bodies has preceded public undertaking. The elementary school is in origin as much the child of individual effort and pious endowment as the 'public school'. The important field of adult education, only fully opened up in the present generation, is being vigorously tilled by voluntary bodies, however much it may gain from the fertilisation of public grants. Many technical schools and polytechnics were originally mechanics' institutes, founded by missionary effort; schools for the blind and deaf were philanthropic in character and not a few still remain so; the first nursery schools took root outside the public system; the ragged schools preceded the evening continuation schools, and so on. The only institutions indeed in which the voluntary principle seems to have been absent from the beginning are the schools of the army and the navy.

This is not the place to recount the intricate relations between voluntary effort in education and the state during the nineteenth century. It is important, however, to realise that behind the tangled history of parliamentary grants-in-aid, of

payment by results, of the use of rates for education, of legislation which imposed public expenditure upon localities with School Boards, of 'whisky money' diverted into the channels of technology, there lies one broad general principle, that the function of the state has been to supplement voluntary enterprise. This principle was not reached *a priori* as the result of a philosophical examination of the respective duties of the state and the individual. It arose, as many phenomena in English history have arisen, from the necessity of taking action, as occasion called, to meet obvious needs. If there was any conscious element in the working out of the principle, it was the Englishman's inveterate dislike of state interference. The force of circumstance proved however more powerful than prejudice; and as that tremendous and involuntary social transformation which we call the industrial revolution gathered volume decade after decade, individual effort was found to be totally insufficient of itself for the tasks of civilisation, and the need for state money to be more and more urgent. Yet the state has never, as in some continental countries, been allowed absolute power. Even to-day its place is second; it is an instrument not a master, an instrument useful, essential indeed, but only to be brought in when the good will of private persons or bodies has proved unequal by itself for the task.

The principle is disguised at the present time by the official control of many departments of education, control which appears on the surface not only to dispense with individual initiative but actually to prevent it. Closely investigated the appearance is delusive. In the large sphere of elementary education, compulsion seems to be supreme. Parents are compelled by law to see that their children are instructed in the elements up to the age of fourteen, and local authorities are compelled to build elementary schools when they are needed and to aid all elementary schools which are 'public'.

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But parents are not forced to send their children to the public elementary school, and no authorities at present have power over non-public schools, private schools, or over forms of instruction which a parent may choose in order to fulfil the obligation laid upon him. Similarly, in the important department of education for the young adolescent, at first sight it seems as if all continuative education is either actually provided by education authorities or is substantially aided and thus partially controlled by them. But there are private continuation schools on lines similar to those of the evening schools and institutes, and there is an increasing amount of private vocational instruction undertaken by business and industrial firms for their own employees.

We have spoken of the state for convenience, as if it was an entity as easily recognisable as, say, the Lord Chancellor. In common speech, state interference, state schools, state education, a state system, are loosely used with more than a nuance of depreciation. The state is confused with the Board of Education and it is supposed that somewhere hidden in Whitehall is a dictator who issues edicts or at any rate a junta which declares policy without challenge. But, properly conceived, the state in this as in other connections is ultimately the government of the country, acting through and with Imperial Parliament; and Imperial Parliament in the long run expresses the will of the people of England. At the present time it is difficult to realise that the bare idea that the government should concern itself with education, as it had concerned itself with defence and revenue, with the suffrage, with criminal laws, with industry through the Truck and Factory Acts and the like, was novel and even dangerous a hundred years ago. It was not until the present century that the state came to concern itself with all grades of education. Since 1902, and especially since the War, there has been a significant development in the public attitude, a development which,

beginning with a more or less reluctant assumption of new powers and duties by Parliament, has grown into a positive interest and concern; and this is gradually becoming a serious and directive purpose, a transition from the desire to remove anomalies in detail to the vision of an educated people.

## iv

The educational history of the last hundred years cannot be dissociated from the political and social history of the period. The Reform Bill of 1832 placed political power in the hands of the middle and manufacturing classes, the bills of 1867 and 1884 gave a large share to the working classes. The effects on education were not always immediate, nor were they invariably due to direct legislative action: the awakening and reforming of the old Public Schools, the creation of new Public Schools and the removal of mediaeval restrictions from the Endowed Schools, which led to their rapid resuscitation after 1869, were the outcome not so much of a reformed Parliament acting by laws as of the whole reform movement. The Act of 1870 was of course a deliberate piece of legislation, which was possible and even imperative when the new voting classes and the industrial people generally were no longer regarded as a negligible populace, destined only to hew wood and draw water.

Two Acts especially demand the attention of the student of present-day education, the Municipal Reform Act of 1835—the Municipal Corporation Act—and the County Councils Act of 1888. They were not educational in purpose at all but without them the modern developments of state education would have been impossible, or at least fundamentally different. The first of these Acts established the municipal authorities of the country, the second applied similar principles of local government to the county areas. The first Act,

of which the second was a long delayed sequel, is indeed epoch-making, for it marks the beginning of local administration as we see it to-day. Save here and there the principle has been accepted by all parties in the state. Speaking of the Acts passed after 1874, when Sir R. Cross was head of the Local Government Board under Disraeli, Mr G. M. Trevelyan says: 'Ever since the Reform Act of 1835, Government after Government down to our own day has helped to build up and extend the (municipal) system. Gladstone in 1871 had set up a department called the Local Government Board, on to which the business of controlling and stimulating the action of Local Authorities has chiefly devolved. The work of Cross... gave assurance of continuity in the national progress towards better conditions of life'.

The development of municipalities probably contributed in the long run to allay the prejudice of many of the individualists of the middle of the century against state action in education. Matthew Arnold's famous advice 'organise your secondary and technical instruction' failed to impress the most progressive among them because he was openly urging a kind of state education such as was established in France and Prussia. When he returned to the subject, as he did incidentally in *Culture and Anarchy* in 1869, he clearly wished the country had an English Humboldt with full powers of controlling the whole of education from London. The idea of such a governmental system was distasteful alike to Churchman and Nonconformist, to Liberal and Conservative. The one party feared governmental interference with the liberty of conscience, a possible reimposition of tests and penalties but lately removed, clericalism in office; the other equally feared a summary repression of religious teaching, an anti-clerical revolution. The Education Department was troublesome, no doubt, but it was not quite an engine of government and it did little more than distribute grants: it had no

control over education higher than elementary, as the central governments in France and Prussia had. It is possible that School Boards, with all the unsatisfactory tendencies they were accused of displaying, did really help to foster the idea that education was a local as well as a national concern, and that, as the pure individualistic spirit of the middle decades became less insistent, a local individualism might retain it and become a bulwark against too much centralisation from Whitehall. The very defects of the school boards certainly induced their opponents to claim rate-aid for voluntary schools, and to welcome a local authority which should not be elected for the sole purpose of administering education. The 'ad hoc' principle is a 'lost cause' in education; it could not have been so readily abandoned if the municipalities and the county councils had not shown the nation what was, in effect, a new form of government. Arnold's idea of state control under an all-powerful Minister of Education had now no interest, and was not even dreaded.

The influence of political and social events upon education was and is by no means limited to Acts of Parliament. In the present century the Boer War, with its revelation of physical deterioration in recruiting, gave an undoubted stimulus to the national concern for public health, and the Medical Service for schools, started in 1907, has attained large and complex proportions. The Local Government Board significantly was changed to a Ministry of Health in 1919. The Great War could not but influence education. Apart from the fact that all schools in one way or another helped the British cause and felt that they had a part in the struggle, the ultimate result was a resolve shared by all political parties that educational opportunities should be widened and the best possible should be done for the rising generation. The advance in the last sixteen years, to be described in the chapters following, is due mostly to this resolve, and the disillusion-

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ment which perhaps inevitably is now visiting us has not spread to education. The general democratic movement which developed rapidly after 1870 and which is due in part to the universal education then made possible, has resulted in a Labour Party with educational ideals and a pronounced policy. But happily the old religious differences do not now divide political parties and Nonconformists and Churchmen now meet to devise agreed syllabuses of religious instruction and even to discuss reunion. Other significant social movements of thought such as the importance of connecting schools with industry and commerce, the urgent need felt for training the adolescent and the call for the education of the adult will receive fuller treatment in later pages of this book. One of the greatest of social changes of the last hundred years, oddly enough, calls for little comment in the period under review, the change in the position of women. So far as education is concerned, the 'emancipation' of women was practically complete by 1900. They were already admitted to Universities though they could not be full members of the University of Oxford until after the War, and are not yet full members of Cambridge. But in all other directions there have been no further barriers to remove and so far as educational administration is concerned the two sexes enjoy the same opportunities.

## CHAPTER II

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATION

#### A. THE LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES

In his book *The Board of Education* Sir Amherst Selby-Bigge, Permanent Secretary of the Board 1911-25, makes constant reference to the 'active and constructive partnership' between the Central and the Local Authorities for education. This idea of a partnership, he says, implicit in the Act of 1902, was a main idea underlying Mr Fisher's Act of 1918: and it has clearly been kept in view during the years since that Act. In order to understand the working of educational administration in England and Wales it is necessary not only to recognise the principle of partnership but to be acquainted with the outstanding details of its working, to know what each of the partners does and what are the bonds that link them together. The 'administration' spoken of is of course that of public or State education, the major portion of the national system but not the whole. As was pointed out in the previous chapter, a characteristic feature of English education is the responsibility cast upon local bodies elected for the general purposes. This kind of government is comparatively new in our country, whereas central government by an elected Parliament is old. Accordingly it is desirable to begin with the Local Education Authority.

#### i

The Local Education Authority, for which we shall use the convenient and common abbreviation of L.E.A., is the ordinary instrument of local government upon which educational functions have been imposed by Act of Parliament.

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Everywhere in England and Wales there are councils with various powers and duties, the range of which depends usually on the extent of the area they serve; the county council is the largest and the parish council the smallest. They are representative bodies, but everyone is not an L.E.A.: nor, on the other hand, is any part of the country outside the jurisdiction of a local authority. After 1870 many places, even comparatively large towns, had no school boards: but not even the smallest village or the remotest settlement is without an L.E.A., however little in evidence it may be.

It is convenient to begin with the most complete form of L.E.A., complete because it possesses powers over all the kinds of education which come within the scope of local administration and holds them over an area in which no other L.E.A. has any standing. This is the council of the county borough. To obtain the status of a *county* borough, a municipality must have at least 50,000 inhabitants, though there are a few very ancient boroughs, such as Canterbury, Bath and York, which for historical reasons were given full autonomy by the Local Government Act of 1888 without reference to their size. The well-known great towns of the country are all of course county boroughs: but by no means all areas with over 50,000 inhabitants have secured or even desired that dignity. Bury in Lancashire has just over 50,000 people and is a county borough; Cambridge with nearly 70,000 is not. There are eighty-three in England and Wales, and they are thickest in Lancashire and the West Riding. Middlesex, Surrey and Kent include many districts which encircle London, and are very populous, but the only county boroughs are Croydon and Canterbury. Essex, which bounds London on the east, has West Ham and East Ham.

The autonomy of the county borough in education is fixed by the Education Act of 1902. In this Act the distinction between elementary education and other forms of education,

to which frequent reference will have to be made in subsequent chapters, was strongly marked. It could hardly fail to be marked at the time, for the delegation of duties and functions in respect of higher education was a revolutionary change; and elementary education had for half a century been under the Education Department at Whitehall. An odd consequence in nomenclature resulted from the distinction. The clauses of the Act dealing with higher education formed Part II; the clauses dealing with elementary education formed Part III. The L.E.A.'s competent to administer higher as well as elementary education are therefore called Part II authorities, and those whose powers are limited to elementary education Part III authorities. The county borough councils are Part II authorities; so are the county councils. Other L.E.A.'s are Part III authorities.

It is important to be clear about Part III authorities. A municipal borough with 10,000 inhabitants and an urban district with 20,000 may be an L.E.A. under Part III. It does not follow that, whenever the census is taken, every borough and urban district council with the requisite number of inhabitants is automatically made an L.E.A. Unless special action is taken by the district, its elementary as well as its higher education is administered by the county as before. In some cases the smaller council never claims the status to which it is entitled, being content to have its elementary schools under the control of the county, as its secondary and technical education must be. Some even surrender the powers they at first accepted, as Warwick has done to Warwickshire. Middlesex continues to treat certain well-populated districts which have urban or municipal councils, with their consent, as if they were merely large villages. Thus the rapidly growing suburb of Southgate up to 1933 was an urban district which, though technically entitled to become an L.E.A., has not done so: it is now a municipal borough and may still find

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it more convenient to be governed educationally by the county. Its population would justify on the score of numbers alone the county borough rank, but full responsibility for all forms of education would not be attractive.

The Part III authorities, or the towns which were municipal boroughs only, caused some embarrassment when the Act of 1902 was before Parliament. Certain members of the House, sore because school boards had been abolished and urging that the special local knowledge which the school board had found valuable was impossible in an area as large as a county, pressed the claims of the boroughs in order to preserve the local intimacy. Some boroughs, though they had had no school board, resented the idea of coming under the control of a county if the borough had no powers. Their pertinacity won the day and there are some 160 Part III authorities in the country, ranging in size from Willesden borough with nearly 200,000 inhabitants to Congleton borough with under 13,000. These Part III L.E.A.'s break the symmetry of the system and some people would like to see them merged in the county. But local pride and independence die hard.

A Part III L.E.A., as has been said, is responsible for elementary education only. It must maintain its own elementary schools and build them if they are required, all from the local rates plus the grants from the Board of Education. The Part III L.E.A. does not build and maintain or aid the secondary schools. It does not conduct evening schools or undertake technical education. If a class is formed for lectures to teachers in the elementary schools, it is provided by the Part II authority, that is the county: for this activity belongs to higher and not to elementary education. It is common sense to expect the county to keep in close touch with its Part III areas, to use their buildings for evening schools, to employ their teachers in such schools, to appoint prominent

citizens to be governors of schools and in many respects to act the elder brother. Also as the Part III areas send representatives to the county council as part of the county, it not infrequently happens that a member residing in a Part III town is one of the leading influences in the county as a whole. Part III L.E.A.'s vary not only in size but in progressive spirit and enterprise. Some with a high rateable value are generous in buildings and staffing and are even accused of extravagance. Another, known to the writer before the War, was so impoverished that the appointment of an extra assistant teacher to increase the inadequate supply of teachers in the town meant the addition of one penny in the pound to the rates.

If we have made clear the position of the boroughs, county and non-county, the great L.E.A.'s of the counties, the county councils, will be easy to understand. For higher education they cover the whole country except the eighty or so county boroughs; for elementary education they control the very considerable part of the country which is not controlled by county boroughs and Part III authorities. London, with a population exceeding that of many states, ranks as a county and the L.C.C. is the London County Council. Its position and its relation, so far as education is concerned, with the boroughs of the metropolis were defined by a special Act of Parliament in 1903. The counties naturally differ very widely. The Isle of Ely, which is reckoned as a county, and Rutlandshire are very small in area and population. Lancashire and the West Riding are very large and contain numerous county boroughs and also Part III authorities. Devonshire and Wiltshire are mainly rural, Staffordshire has large urban centres, and so on. But their powers and their functions are similar. It is now time to show how an L.E.A. works; what is said below is true of the Part II authorities whether in boroughs or in counties and with obvious omissions true also of the Part III authorities.

The L.E.A.'s are the councils, representative bodies elected by the ratepayers, as members of Parliament are elected by voters in their constituencies. But whereas, apart from bye-elections, Parliament is re-elected as a whole upon dissolution, there are annual elections for local councils, one-third of the seats becoming vacant each year: a system which tends to secure continuity of personnel in local affairs. Yet representative assemblies, often of considerable size, do not at first sight appear suitable for administration. The City Council of Liverpool, for example, has over 100 members, while the L.C.C. numbers 145. How can a large body of this kind, elected mostly on party lines, generally without reference to matters of education, carry on the delicate and daily task of providing and administering education of all kinds for an immense urban population? Executive functions require not only tact and patience but also swift decision, firm handling and a consistent policy. They are best performed either by one man, or by a small committee which delegates its authority very largely to one man. As everyone knows, Parliament has solved its problem by entrusting its executive functions to a small committee, known as the Cabinet, containing the leaders of the party in the majority, which is under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister. Our local government has surmounted the difficulty in somewhat the same fashion. Indeed, it is interesting to note that in most countries the machinery of local government tends to reflect that of the government at the centre. In Germany, for instance, the local executive rests in the hands of the Burgomeister, who corresponds to the Chancellor of the Reich, and is himself appointed by the central government, although he has to give an account of his actions to a locally elected body. In the United States again the chief local executive officer is the

Mayor, who is elected like the Federal President, and like the President is practically absolute during his term of office. In England, just as we have a King who reigns but does not govern, so we have mayors whose functions are mainly ceremonial, while the executive work of local government is carried on by committees and especially by the chairmen of committees. The committees are formed out of the council by the simple process of fission, though many committees also contain co-opted members who are not members of the council. A town council or a county council governs by splitting itself into as many standing committees as its various services require. There are such committees for Finance, for Police (the Watch Committee), for Roads, for Sanitation (Health), for Parks and so on. But this is not the end. Further specialisation is obtained by means of subdividing the standing committees into sub-committees to deal with various branches. Though the principal positions in the council, for example, the chairmanship of committees, usually go to the party which has a majority, the committees as a whole do not, like the imperial cabinet, consist of the adherents of one party. All members of the council, to whatever party they belong, or if they are independent, are expected to serve on the committees: a fact of considerable importance, since it means that party distinctions signify far less in local than in national politics. The work of the council must be carried on from day to day and the facts of the daily situation determine the policy of the committees much more than party prejudice or doctrine which, though vocal enough at election times, is little heard within the four walls of committee rooms. Another steady influence in committees concerned with education is the presence of co-opted members who, like the members of the old school boards, are there because of their knowledge of education and their interest in it.

But however excellent and hard-working the committee,

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one fact about it is not to be overlooked; it is simply an instrument of the council as a whole, upon which no co-opted persons have seats. The proceedings of the committees have to be approved by the council, as they are recorded in minutes duly kept and open to inspection; and if any action is questioned or criticised in council, it falls upon the committee's chairman to reply. Thus though the whole work of local government is actually performed by committees and sub-committees, it is the council alone which endows the performance with authority. Finally—a vital point—the council from first to last retains complete control over expenditure, no committee having money of its own. It must make out its estimate for the year and submit it to the finance committee to be collated with the estimates of the other committees: the whole as endorsed or modified by the finance committee will be put before the council for approval. Thus the Local Authority for Education, the L.E.A., though it is often spoken of as if it was synonymous with the Education Committee, is in law the Council.

The system works well, and is much admired by foreign students of our political institutions. The greatest outside authority on English local government, an Austrian writer, Joseph Redlich, notes the remarkable adaptability of the committee principle to towns and counties of various sizes and requirements. If a council decides to undertake some new service or launch some new enterprise, for example a public library, all it has to do is to form one more committee from its members. The system again has the advantage of turning into useful channels the special knowledge and talents of individual members of the council, and results in the establishment of a number of small administrative bodies, each with experience and traditions of its own. The personnel of these committees tends to become more or less permanent, and the chairman in particular often continues in office for a

long period of years. Yet new blood is constantly added by the annual elections which affect one-third of the council, while the body corporate remains very much the same.

## iii

The most important member of a committee is of course the chairman, elected annually, but as a matter of fact usually re-elected from year to year. The chairman of an education committee is almost always a leading figure on the council and a man of influence in the locality. A good chairman carries his committee with him and not only so but impresses the council as a whole, whose main interest does not lie in education, with the reasonableness of what on behalf of his committee he brings forward. So with chairmen of other committees of the council. Most English people are quite unconscious of what they owe to the devotion and wisdom of many hundreds of chairmen who are shouldering the work of local government all over the country. It must be remembered that they do not receive a penny of public money for their services. Yet these unpaid servants of the community give up half their life, and often more, to the conduct of public affairs. The chairmanship of a body like the education committee of Manchester, Birmingham or Liverpool is practically a whole-time employment; and it is estimated that the ordinary member of the L.C.C. education committee spends at least two full days a week in pure committee work. Chairmen and members are often business men and therefore not only give their services for nothing but forego the pecuniary advantages of attention to their own business. Some of the chairmen, both past and present, are almost national figures. They are not necessarily men of high scholastic attainments but they are sincere enthusiasts and unflagging workers; and their education in the 'university of

life' endows them with experience which, with their native commonsense and practical ability, makes them outstanding examples of what is best in English public life. The commemoration of their names in the schools they have been instrumental in founding is a small token of the esteem in which they are held: in their way they are worthy to be named alongside William of Wykeham and John Colet.

However assiduous or enthusiastic he may be, no chairman can manage without paid officials to supply him with information and advice, and to carry out the decisions of his committee. Every committee has its staff of officials, just as the imperial cabinet works through the Civil Service. The principal official of a locality is the Town Clerk, or the Clerk to the County, who is the legal adviser to the council, the keeper of the archives and the channel through which the whole business of the council flows. Historically speaking, the town clerk is the germ from which the present elaborate hierarchy of local government has sprung. In ordinary correspondence concerning education he is in the background, because the secretary to the education committee in most non-legal matters acts as an independent official. In a small borough the town clerk himself may be the chief education official but more usually it is a member of his own clerical staff. At the other end of the scale the large borough or the county can afford an imposing salary of £1500 or £2000 and command the services of a first rate man. When L.E.A.'s came into being after 1902 the clerks to the larger school boards became Directors of Education in many places: in others, especially in counties, men who were already organisers and secretaries to the Technical Instruction Committees: again elsewhere new men offered themselves for the new posts. From the very beginning the service of local education has been fortunate in attracting at least some minds of high quality. One need only mention the honoured and dis-

tinguished name of Graham Balfour, cousin and biographer of Robert Louis Stevenson, who was director of education for Staffordshire from 1903 to 1926, to make this clear. And there are others.

The chief education official is naturally the close associate of the chairman of the education committee. We need not enquire too minutely whether one has the other 'in his pocket'. There are men who dominate among both chairmen and officials, and an able and skilful person wins a legitimate power by suggestion and persuasion, and by quietly doing the thinking and planning for his committee. Both chairman and official are in constant touch with the Board of Education, that is, with the department at Whitehall which is concerned with the locality and with H.M. Inspectors in the country. As will be shown in the next chapter, this close connection between the L.E.A. and the Board has considerable influence on the policy of the Board itself: and it is through chairman and official that the connection is made.

## iv

Important as are the two personages just now described, it must not be assumed that the education committee itself is negligible. In the Act of 1902 when education committees were to cover the country in place of school boards covering only portions of it, much attention was paid to the constitution of the new instrument of government. The council, as has been said, is the L.E.A. But the Act lays down that the L.E.A. must establish an education committee which carries out the educational functions of the council, but does not of its own power authorise expenditure on education. The committee was to be formed on a scheme to be submitted to the Board for approval. The scheme must include a provision that in county boroughs the majority of the com-

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mittee must be members of the council: they need not be so in a county but usually are. Every education committee must include women, marriage being no disqualification: women may of course be county or borough councillors. Every education committee must also have co-opted members, men or women. This provision was meant in part to meet the reproach that committees of town and county councillors, competent though they might be on points of building or sanitation or roads, would be unlikely to include persons experienced in education. Also, whereas under the school boards the interests of particular types of schools could be safeguarded by having representatives elected by the cumulative vote, these interests were in danger under the proposed new L.E.A.'s. Voluntary schools could and do have representatives among the co-opted members. The county and county borough committees often include representatives of the universities and of teachers' associations: some L.E.A.'s refuse acting teachers in their own employ on principle, others do not, but retired teachers not infrequently are either co-opted or put up for the council itself and contribute a professional element.

Those who are unacquainted with the actual working of an L.E.A. would be well advised to read the periodical reports of some representative authority: in this way and hardly by any other, can a just conception be gained of the nature and the functions of an L.E.A. by one who is outside. The range of activities may be partly understood by the following extract from the table of contents of the report of a well-known L.E.A.: the table covers one chapter only and the topics are indexed alphabetically: *Elementary Education*. Buildings. Defective children. Employment of children. Furniture. Head teachers. Holidays. National savings. Nursery schools. Practical instruction. Prosecutions (school attendance). Religious instruction. Reorganisation of schools. School can-

teens. School medical service. Superannuation of teachers. Teachers' salaries. Teaching staff.

A report of this character will do more than reveal the complexity of the work of the L.E.A. It will show by its statistics and lists of personnel and committees how the work is organised. For example, the Kent L.E.A. issue a gazette from which some illustrative particulars may be gathered. The county, which has a population of well over a million, contains the city of Canterbury and sixteen autonomous areas for elementary education, the Part III authorities referred to earlier in this chapter. The population of the rural parts and such urban areas as are not autonomous, is nearly 600,000, and this is spread over nearly a million acres. As elementary schools must be provided so that children need not travel beyond a mile or so (two miles legally), it will be obvious that they will be scattered and not concentrated, and that to administer them all from one central office would be almost impossible. For elementary education chiefly but not wholly the county is divided into districts with local paid secretaries. Other large counties also adopt the same plan, with local committees and a small local office. London too has district offices which, like the county offices of the same kind, deal principally with minor matters of administration but also may be consulted upon or may themselves make proposals of some magnitude to be settled by the main committee.

The Education Committee for Kent has forty-six members, of whom twelve are co-opted: six are women. Like other L.E.A.'s the education committee forms standing sub-committees. Here is the Kent list: Elementary Education; Secondary and University Education; Further Education and Juvenile Welfare; Agricultural Education; Finance and General Purposes; Buildings; County Council Stores Committee; Library. Other L.E.A.'s would show a slightly different allocation of duties. A little arithmetic will make it

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evident that members of the county committee must also serve on more than one of the sub-committees, and very often there are sectional committees constituted within even the sub-committees, especially to deal with a particular temporary problem.

The leading officials and their duties throw a further light upon the organisation of education in Kent. Under the Director of Education, Mr Salter Davies, C.B.E., are two assistant directors for elementary and three for higher education; a chief inspector with two assistants; a county educational guidance officer; an agricultural organiser; an accountant; a chief clerk; a stores superintendent; a librarian. In addition the L.E.A. has the services of the county medical officer of health who acts as chief school medical officer with an assistant; and a county architect with a deputy architect. Under each of these will be a clerical staff.

### v

Enough has been written to suggest the skeleton of the organisation of a large L.E.A. What all these committees and all these officials have to do will appear in later chapters; for the account of developments in various forms of education involves the L.E.A. at all points. The L.E.A.'s do not cover the whole field of education, as we have had more than one occasion to remind the reader. They do cover all education which is maintained by drafts upon the rates and the taxes, with a few special groups of exceptions; and they are concerned with institutions which they do not themselves control but which are also aided by exchequer grants. The national system of education includes much more than the public system of education which is a very large part of it, as will be shown in later chapters. It is the public education which comes under the L.E.A.

There are some 300 L.E.A.'s, large and small: before 1902 there were nearly 3000 school boards, a decided change for the better in simplicity alone. The present organisation is not without its critics. On the one hand, the larger the area of local government, the more remote the centre of administration is apt to be; and the machinery of district committees is devised to distribute the burden of work and to bring to bear local knowledge upon local needs and problems. So also Part III L.E.A.'s are stoutly defended as preserving small but compact areas from losing their identity in a large county. On the other hand, counties and county boroughs do not always co-operate or agree. Large towns, which are county boroughs, have fringes of relatively dense populations which are in the county. It is not difficult for the county to provide elementary schools on the spot, but secondary and technical schools cannot be multiplied and should not be too small. The adjustment of fees paid by county students, e.g. in a town technical school, is not easy to make without hardship on the students. Some would advocate the formation of 'provinces' to include counties and towns, at least for dealing with the highest forms of education, an idea which appeared in Mr Fisher's first Bill in 1917. But the powerful county boroughs took alarm. Manchester and Leeds might be on friendly terms with Lancashire and the West Riding, but could not stomach the notion of forming only a part of a large north-western or north-eastern province. The present anomalies, picturesque in some respects, will probably long remain. At any rate their removal would involve a reconsideration of the whole question of local government and its organisation. A Government would have to be very free from the pressing anxieties of the present day before it could undertake any such rearrangement of local boundaries as would remove the hardships and disputes that undoubtedly here and there do occur.

## CHAPTER III

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATION

#### B. THE BOARD OF EDUCATION

The second member of the 'active and constructive partnership' between authorities for public education is the Board of Education. This is the Central Authority, as distinct from the Local Authorities described in Chapter II, and it is situated in Whitehall, in one of the many offices in which government business is transacted in that region. The Board like its neighbours, the Home Office, the Admiralty, the War Office, the Treasury and the rest, is part of the Civil Service of the country and derives its authority from the High Court of Parliament. Though the Board is the central authority, education is not 'centralised' in it, as is the case in some European countries and some of the British Dominions. How it exercises its undoubted powers and what the relation of partnership implies must be made clear in the following pages.

#### i

The Board of Education was created as recently as 1900 by the Board of Education Act of 1899. It had long been evident that a real central ministry of education, with whatever functions it should be endowed, was needed as a first step towards co-ordinating the various agencies which assisted and controlled education both from London and in the country. The Act was a simple matter, for it did little more than amalgamate three existing government departments which, with separate constitutions and powers, dealt with education from London. The Education Department, formed soon after 1833, when the first grants were voted, administered

elementary education. The Science and Art Department (1856), housed at South Kensington, fostered by grants and controlled in some degree by inspection, a sphere which began with classes in science and art and by 1900 included technical instruction and such secondary education as could on the most liberal interpretation be denominated scientific. The Charity Commission dealt with educational as well as other charitable trusts. As thus baldly stated the division of functions does not sound chaotic in itself or even necessarily liable to friction. But the Bryce Commission on Secondary Education (1894-5) had shown how complex were the agencies throughout England and Wales which had the management of all forms of education beyond the bare elements of primary education, how their efforts conflicted with each other, with overlapping here and grave deficiencies there, and how the operations of the three departments contributed to the complexity instead of articulating it. Accordingly the Commission strongly urged the institution of one Board, 'charged [in the words of the Act] with the superintendence of matters relating to education in England and Wales'. Thus the century long reluctance of the English people to attack education as a national question came to an end.

The new Board took over the educational trusts from the Charity Commissioners, but left to the Commission as a whole the other trusts. It absorbed the two older departments at once, uniting them under one head, and in due course the staffs were merged into one. It was not, however, until the Act of 1902 conferred upon L.E.A.'s specific obligations and powers regarding education other than elementary, that the internal organisation of the Board took its present shape.

It may be asked, what precisely is the Board? Like the similarly named Board of Trade, but unlike the Board of Admiralty, its title is something of a misnomer. Technically

the Board consists of a few of the principal ministers of state, all fully occupied in their respective departments and none specially interested in education—except the President of the Board himself. That is his title, President, but he is often referred to as the Minister of Education, which is what he really is. The Board never meets as a Board, nor are the members of it consulted individually as such when an important decision is to be taken. The President with his second-in-command, the Parliamentary Secretary, and the staff of civil servants in the Education Office are commonly and not improperly regarded as the Board. It is curious, but perhaps significant, that the Board is assumed to speak collectively in the plural: 'The Board are prepared'; 'The Board regret'; 'The Board have not yet been informed'. One hears a common jest that the Board's emotions are seldom expressed except in guarded or tepid language. They frequently regret but seldom scorn or repudiate; they are 'glad to learn' but rarely applaud with enthusiasm or even with much cordiality. But a carefully organised department can hardly be expected as a whole to think with passion or delight. This does not prevent individuals belonging to it from gratification over a reform successfully achieved or an impending mischief prevented. There is significance in the collective use of 'The Board'. For all official letters from the office, conveying information or delivering decisions, or issuing instructions or asking opinions, have the authority of the Board behind them. The President accepts responsibility for all actions of the Board, even for mistakes in trivial matters; and he is liable to be challenged in Parliament to support and explain whatever has been communicated in the name of the Board. Closely examined and pursued to its origin, the most elementary answer in a stereotyped form to a simple enquiry will be found to be based on a rule or a precedent which at one time has been dealt with and settled by the Board as a

whole. The idea that an irresponsible clerk judges and pronounces is wholly mistaken.

This collective action and this collective responsibility borne on the shoulders of the minister necessarily means a systematic gradation of officers and a careful organisation of functions. As has been said, the minister has a Parliamentary Secretary, as other ministers have: he or she (for the Duchess of Atholl held this office for several years) not only has certain spheres of the Board's work assigned, but also helps and speaks for the President in the House of Commons, or may be, in the House of Lords. Both President and Secretary are members of the government and change when the government changes. Nowadays the President is a member of the Cabinet, and though his salary is not as large as the salary of some of the ministers in older departments, his position as one of the great officers of state is assured.

## ii

The staff of the Board are civil servants, recruited like civil servants in other departments. Besides typists, messengers and other subordinates there are two main divisions, two classes, the administrative and the executive or clerical. The former, the administrative class, are First Division civil servants, who are now chosen by examination, but formerly came in by nomination. Candidates for the First Division are mainly graduates in high honours, the larger number from Oxford and Cambridge. The Second Division are also chosen after a competitive examination of considerable severity. Neither of the classes is earmarked for the Education Office, and a successful candidate may be posted to any part of the service where a vacancy is to be filled. Those who are attached to the Board usually remain in the Board, but exchanges and transfers are not infrequent. An able member of the Second

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Division may be promoted to the First Division. Broadly the executive or clerical staff have charge of records and returns, including past correspondence and precedents: it is their business to send incoming papers to the appropriate section of the office, and they must be ready to supply the information required by the Board accurately and at once. They may suggest replies to enquiries and questions which frequently recur, and they deal with certain routine matters. It is evident that this work calls for extreme care and capacity.

The hierarchy of the administrative class is as follows. At the head of the whole office is the Permanent Secretary, an official of the highest rank in the Civil Service. The most famous of Permanent Secretaries of the Board since 1900 was Sir Robert Morant, who in a real sense brought the Board into being, shaping it from the three constituents mentioned above, and moulding its policy as a central authority for education. Next in order to the Permanent Secretary are a Deputy Secretary and four Principal Assistant Secretaries, each of the four being in charge of one of the four main branches of the Board's work, the Elementary, Secondary, Technological and Training of Teachers Branches. Below these high officials the Administrative side is, as it is called, 'territorialised': that is, each of the main areas into which England is divided has a group of officers, with an Assistant Secretary in command, who deal with all general questions in that area. Thus a particular officer who is territorialised for Lancashire will take references affecting, say, St Helens, and will be familiar with all sides of education in that borough. He will also be in close touch with the inspectors visiting various kinds of schools, and will be personally known, through frequent interviews, to the officials and the prominent members of the L.E.A. Up to about ten years ago each type of education had its own branch working without close con-

nexion with the others. The territorialisation has simplified the contacts of the L.E.A. with the Board.

The Welsh department of the Board has its own Permanent Secretary, independent of the English, but of course maintaining a close association with him: Wales forms an additional 'territorial' division like the English divisions.

Distinct from the territorial organisation are several special branches, of which the Accountant-General's department, the Law branch and the Pensions branch are the chief, all of course under the suzerainty of the Permanent Secretary. It should also be said that, like other government offices, the Board includes bodies of technical officers, whose appointment does not depend upon success in a written general examination. Thus the administrative officers of the Law and Architects departments, the 'Keepers' of the Science Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum, the staff of the Royal College of Art—all of which are under the Board—are appointed under competitive conditions by interview. The largest section of these technical officers is the inspectorate, which will be discussed in a later paragraph. The Medical branch, part of which is necessarily technical, and which is housed in the Ministry of Health, is semi-independent, for its chief, Sir George Newman, serves both the Board and the Ministry of Health.

### iii

It is impossible to give an analysis of the multifarious types of business daily transacted by the Board. Much of what comes into the Board is of a routine nature—returns sent in, notifications of appointments, applications for grants due, simple requests for information, reports—all acknowledged, docketed and distributed to the appropriate section of the office to be filed or otherwise dealt with. If a considered

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reply is required the papers come before an administrative officer. If an apparently straightforward application or proposal raises a new point, not covered by established practice, it is his duty to 'refer' it. He states a case, after sending to the clerical side for the particulars he may require, and passes it on, with his suggested answer, to the officer immediately superior to him, whose experience and riper judgment may enable him to decide on the spot. When local knowledge of special circumstances is needed, H.M.I. is consulted and he may be asked to make a personal investigation. If the point raises a general principle, which will have to be considered in its bearing on the whole country, the higher officials are consulted and even the Secretary himself, to whom all major problems must be referred. The Secretary will decide whether the case calls for a ruling by the President, who is usually kept informed of the major issues under discussion in the Board.

For example, a proposal for the amalgamation of two schools under the Hadow reorganisation may be in continuation of the policy of an L.E.A. already approved, and so much like previous proposals of the L.E.A. that the heads of the office need not be brought in. The opinion and advice of H.M.I., whose business it is to know what his L.E.A. is intending, would be all-important, and subject to a possible challenge on the ground of expense, probably decisive. On the other hand a proposal by an L.E.A. to charge exceptionally low fees in a county secondary school or to offer an exceptional number of 'special places' virtually free, would almost certainly be taken as high as the President.

It is to be remembered that a principal part of the day to day work of the Board is the distribution of moneys voted by Parliament for the service of education. This is no mechanical cashier's job. Payments are made on conditions and the Board has to determine whether these are fulfilled. Thus

returns from those who are eligible for grants, L.E.A.'s or governing bodies or individuals, have to be scrutinised and the expenditure approved; doubtful cases have to be examined and the examination may involve further correspondence. Under the present system of grants, to be explained in the next chapter, there has been a definite intention to minimise the scrutiny of details; but even percentage grants on a large scale cannot be approved without some careful investigation.

## iv

The question is sometimes asked, what is the policy of the Board and how is it arrived at? The answer may be more clearly given if policy is considered in two senses, the aims of the Board in general and the pronouncements issued on particular occasions. The duty of the Board, as laid down by the Board of Education Act of 1899, is 'the superintendence of matters relating to Education in England and Wales'. Put more concretely this is held to mean that the Board must see that the duties laid upon the L.E.A.'s by various Acts of Parliament are duly fulfilled, and that parliamentary grants are duly distributed. The L.E.A.'s are to provide for 'the progressive development and comprehensive organisation in respect of their area' and they are to submit schemes to show the mode in which 'their duties and powers...are to be performed and exercised'. Shorn of details, superintendence, then, is the main policy of the Board. All this is too indefinite to be informative. It must clearly depend upon the government how close the superintendence is and to what degree the Board stimulate or discourage progressive development and comprehensive organisation. To discuss policy from this point of view is to enter the region of controversy. It may be said, however, that the Board are actuated by a sincere desire to carry out in full the spirit of the recent Acts

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of Parliament and, as remarked in a previous chapter, that all modern English governments, of whatever complexion, are anxious to develop and not to retard education, even when financial stringency demands a slackening of progress.

It is easier to discuss policy in the second sense and to show how the action of the Board on particular occasions is determined. Many examples will occur in the course of succeeding chapters, but some general remarks on procedure, with a few striking instances, will not be out of place here. We shall discuss Regulations and Circulars and then Committees.

An Act of Parliament concerning education, while it prescribes duties and authorises assistance from the Exchequer, rarely specifies the minutiae of duties or the amounts of expenditure. The general terms of the Acts require interpretation and translation into the details of administration. The interpretation takes the form of Regulations, usually accompanied by and sometimes preceded by explanatory Circulars. Perhaps the clearest example of the necessity of Regulations can be found in those issued for Secondary Schools in 1904. Here the situation was new. The Board had to announce on what conditions and up to what amounts they would aid L.E.A.'s and Governing Bodies in respect of secondary education. This implied some sort of definition of a secondary school to make intelligible the principles on which the Board would recognise and aid some types of school and not others. So also with grants. The Act specified no scale of payment and the partial and piecemeal grants previously paid by the Science and Art Department offered no precedents of great value. A consistent scheme was inevitable in order to avoid unfairness. How the Board met the occasion will be explained in Chapter VII below. So also when Adult Education came to be assisted Regulations were required. The Pensions Act, to give another instance, gave authority for the payment of

pensions to certain teachers on retirement, but it needed interpretation and amplification through Rules. The most famous or notorious set of regulations has been the Code of Regulations for Elementary Schools, issued as a Revised Code in 1862 and constantly amended from year to year for forty years. It once bristled with requirements and prohibitions, laid down in minutest detail, but it is now a smooth and urbane document at which no one need take fright. It is not to be forgotten that regulations are drafted for the guidance of officers of the Board, as well as for the information of L.E.A.'s and managers: so the old Code, while it imposed conditions often onerous and annoying, also protected the schools from caprice and unfairness on the part of inspectors and managers.

A very important change was effected in 1926 in both the form and the spirit of the Board's Regulations. In form they were greatly reduced in bulk—in one case from seventy-eight pages to nine—and they were simplified not only by the exclusion of explanatory matter and of provisions that had become obsolete, but also by stating the bare requirements in the plainest terms. For example, it had been customary in successive Codes to lay down numerically the staff required for elementary schools, indicating how many children such and such a teacher's qualifications 'counted for' on the staff; for these detailed assessments in the new Regulations was substituted the condition that the L.E.A. 'must maintain an approved establishment of suitable teachers', the distribution of separate grades and of individuals being left to the L.E.A., subject to the approval of the distribution by the Board. At the same time, to give another instance, the former complicated system of institutions aided under Technical Education was rearranged, and the types of schools and classes eligible for grant were classified afresh and clearly set out. The broad effect of the Regulations, as a whole, was

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to generalise conditions and requirements: words like 'suitable', 'adequate' and 'satisfactory' were used abundantly. This, however, does not mean that the main conditions are relaxed or indefinite. Some are determined by Act of Parliament, such as the provisions regarding religious instruction and medical inspection; others, such as the rules for Free (now Special) Places in secondary schools, are settled by the considered policy of the Board and ultimately by the Government. But, beyond statutory requirements, the present form of the Regulations gives the L.E.A. and managers freedom to use their own judgment in the application of general principles.

The Board make extensive use of Circulars. Some of these, such as those which accompanied the 1926 Regulations, are expository: it is also convenient on occasion to clear up some doubtful point in ordinary administration or to announce some minor modification in rules and regulations by circulars, just as happens in the working of an L.E.A. But a more important use is to test the opinion of L.E.A.'s and public opinion when a considerable change of policy is contemplated. The circulars, usually addressed to L.E.A.'s, are communicated to the press and to organisations of teachers. In recent years, some of them have achieved a certain notoriety, such as the Circular (No. 1421) on Fees and Free Places in secondary schools and circulars suggesting economies. The Board expect and invite comments, and, when Regulations are the sequel, they are often modified as the result of the views elicited. At the same time the Board are in the habit of consulting the chairmen and officials of the great L.E.A.'s informally, and often at an arranged conference. There is no Olympian aloofness at the Board.

As an extension of the practice of circularising the L.E.A.'s may be mentioned that of issuing memoranda, educational pamphlets and special reports. These are meant for the dissemination of ideas and information and, though they are

officially issued for sale, and thus their value is recognised, the Board do not countersign the particular recommendations that may be made in them. They are commonly concerned with education in the schools and not with administration. For example, valuable memoranda have appeared since 1904 on the teaching of the various subjects in secondary schools, on the London central schools, on aspects of the continuation school problem, on Wales, and others too numerous to catalogue. The Reports of various special Committees to be described below reach the dimensions of books. Finally, there is the Annual Report of the Board. This important document naturally is chiefly a summary of statistics and other facts relating to the work of the Board and the L.E.A.'s. But it also from time to time includes chapters which give a historical resumé or a detailed description of some part of the educational field. Side by side with the Annual Report of the Board is to be mentioned that of the Chief Medical Officer, relating the progress of medical inspection.

The Committees to which reference has been made are very various. The Board, as an administrative body, is not divided into committees like the various committees of the L.E.A., with deliberative functions culminating in resolutions, the execution of which devolves upon officials. This is not to say that the Board may not from time to time delegate to some of their officers the duty of examining some question and advising upon it, or that regular meetings may not be held, e.g. of chief inspectors or assistant secretaries. But these are internal affairs, a matter of convenience; plenty of personal discussion takes place in the Board whose members do not communicate with each other solely by written minutes, as once upon a time they are said to have done.

The committees whose reports and proceedings interest the public are either standing committees, like that on Adult Education or the Burnham Committee on Salaries, and the

Consultative Committee, or are specially constituted with a specific reference by the President or as on some occasions even by the Prime Minister. The best-known reports of this second class are the Reports on the Teaching of English (which in 1912 became a 'best seller' among books), on the Classics, on Natural Science and on Modern Studies. One of the most recent was that of the Departmental Committee on Private Schools in 1932. All these committees are advisory and their recommendations may or may not be accepted by the Board: unlike the proceedings of committees of the L.E.A. they do not formally come up for approval by a superior body. The Burnham Committee stands apart in some degree, for the scales of salaries agreed upon at this joint conference of employers—the L.E.A.'s—and employed—the teachers' panel—must be either definitely accepted by the Board or sent back for further consideration. The Reports on the teaching of subjects of the curriculum were addressed rather to the public than to the Board and were educational propaganda and not specific recommendations calling for administrative action by the Central Authority.

The constitution of all the Committees is roughly similar, except that the Burnham Committee has panels appointed by L.E.A.'s and teachers, with an independent chairman, now Lord Onslow. They are committees of persons outside the Board for the most part, chosen by the President because of their special knowledge and experience, not specially elected or sent as representatives by any organisation; the Private Schools Committee, for example, contained preparatory and private school teachers, members and officials of L.E.A.'s, three M.P.'s, of whom one had been a teacher and an L.E.A. chairman, two officers of the Board, and others. Direct representation of special interests is obtained through the witnesses whom the committee examines and these witnesses always include officers of the Board.

The standing committee most in the public eye is the Consultative Committee, instituted by the Board of Education Act of 1899. Its members are appointed for six years, retiring in rotation. They are appointed by the President and are not elected deputies. All sides of education are represented in this sense and their wide experience is pooled for the common benefit. The Committee is independent: questions are referred to it by the Minister of Education, but his own personal views or predilections do not direct the conclusions or guide the lines of treatment, once the 'reference' is made. It is important to make this clear because some theorists have held that the Consultative Committee should have a more positive rôle, and should be representative by election, and that its recommendations, normally and in the absence of strong reasons to the contrary, should be accepted by the minister and the Board as a basis of policy. It should, these persons say, be a real Board of Education. This, however, is to misconceive the position of the minister and the system of government of the country. Like other ministers of state, the President of the Board is responsible to Parliament and he cannot divest himself of this responsibility by becoming the spokesman of a consultative or advisory Board: he is not like the chairman of an education committee conveying the resolutions of his committee to the borough or county council for their approval and their financial sanction. He can and does listen to advice from all quarters and most usefully from a committee which is consultative by statute: but as the country is now governed the minister must alone shoulder responsibility.

Nevertheless the Consultative Committee carries great weight. A striking example of its value and of the relations between itself and the minister is afforded by what are called the 'Hadow Reports', to be described more fully in Chapter vi below. In order to carry out the implications of the Fisher

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Act of 1918 regarding 'advanced instruction' in elementary schools, the Board opened up the question in 1924 by a circular urging L.E.A.'s to devote attention to the education of older children, now by that Act bound to stay at school until the completion of their fourteenth year. This action was followed in 1925 by a specific reference to the Consultative Committee, then under Sir Henry Hadow as chairman. In 1926 the first Hadow Report was issued. The Committee recommended some far-reaching changes in the elementary system, education up to eleven to be regarded as and called primary, and subsequent education to be called post-primary; not only so, but the Report advocated a gradual reorganisation of elementary schools on this principle. The Board accepted the main findings and the minister (Lord Eustace Percy) issued a document 'The New Prospect in Education' in explanation of it. Other subordinate findings were not adopted. The reorganisation is now proceeding.

It will be plain from what has been said how there is a flow of well-informed opinion into the Board and into the minds of the public, and how in turn the Board makes known its policy both on the general movement in education and upon particular issues that arise.

## v

The members of the Board best known to those who are engaged in the daily work of public education are the outside staff, the Inspectors. Like certain other persons in the Civil Service with the general duty of inspection, they are called His Majesty's Inspectors when they possess the full rank, a reminder of the time when they were technically reporting to the monarch in Council, and not as now to the Board. The organisation of the inspectorate roughly resembles that of the inside officials in being territorial in the main. H.M.I. is

responsible for a 'district', that is for inspecting in an area all schools which are elementary, if he is assigned to the elementary branch; or secondary or technological, if he belongs to one of these other branches; for cookery and laundry centres, if a woman inspector appointed for that purpose. There are also nine Divisional Inspectors whose business it is to co-ordinate the work of all the branches and to exercise general supervision, and a Chief Inspector for each of the principal types of education with a Chief Woman Inspector. In addition there are Staff Inspectors, for special subjects, and for the training of teachers. The Welsh inspectorate is a separate organisation.

The function of these external officers of the Board is often misunderstood, and it is seldom realised by those out of intimate contact with it, what inspection implies. Undoubtedly there still lingers some of the dread which attached to the inspector's visit fifty years ago when it meant the individual examination of every child and a grant varying with the success of the children in passing the ordeal. The principal business of H.M.I. is to know his schools, and his district with its good points and its needs; this necessarily means some adjudication of the teaching as well as the machinery of organisation in them, but not now an annual set investigation with an annual report. H.M.I. has a double function of some delicacy. By his personal predilection and training and by the tradition of the service now well established, he is anxious to see his schools following good methods of teaching and improving: in this capacity he is an advisor and counsellor more than a critic. In the greater part of the country he also has the duty of informing the L.E.A. by reports how the schools they control are faring. Some of the large L.E.A.'s, like London, Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool, employ a corps of inspectors of their own, and the Board's staff is correspondingly diminished and devotes itself

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more to general problems and less to particular assessments: duplication of inspection would be obviously wasteful and confusing. But elsewhere the Board's inspectors virtually work for the L.E.A. Elementary schools are reported upon about once in three years. In secondary and schools under the Higher Education Committees there are infrequent but regular Full Inspections, where a school is carefully inspected by experts in various subjects as well as by the district inspector, and a detailed report is sent through the Board to the L.E.A. or Governing Body. The report not only deals with the general organisation of the school and discusses how far it fulfils its declared object, but also gives an opportunity for the consideration of the curriculum and the best ways of dealing with it. Such full inspections and reports are rare in elementary schools, and their place is sometimes taken by wider enquiries centring on the teaching of some subjects in a number of schools or round some problem of general importance. Apart from routine inspections, H.M.I. may report to the Board on some striking instance of neglect or on the tardiness in dealing with defects of premises or inadequacy of staff. But for the most part H.M.I. acts as advisor both to teachers and to the L.E.A., as a disseminator of new ideas and of what he has seen of successful experiments. In remote schools especially his visits give the isolated teacher a welcome chance of discussing difficulties and experiences. He is not the supervisor of the teachers, for he does not employ them, nor, as in former times he has done, does he issue recommendations which were then indistinguishable from commands. Indeed in some degree his visits are a safeguard to the teacher, whom his approval may protect against criticism from the L.E.A. His position as one who watches over the interests of the children, to see that they are being taught under decent conditions and not neglected, is now somewhat in the background, when all elementary schools

re maintained by an L.E.A. But the responsibility is not entirely abrogated. He acts as a sort of liaison officer between the district with its L.E.A. and the Board, and, as mentioned above, is constantly referred to by the Board and consulted on every important action by the L.E.A. It is also oft to be forgotten that his original *raison d'être* has not disappeared, that of satisfying the government that the public moneys spent on education are disbursed under proper conditions.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATION

#### C. FINANCE

What may be called the spiritual link between the two members of the partnership in education is the common purpose that animates both L.E.A.'s and Board of Education, that of training the youth of the country to become worthy and serviceable citizens in the community. It is now necessary to explain the material link that binds the Authorities, Finance. The subject is complicated and forbidding, but apart from the personal interest the reader should take in it as pupil, teacher, administrator or rate- and tax-payer, there are certain general principles and certain difficult problems the understanding of which is essential to a clear comprehension of the educational system as a whole.

#### i

The present generation has grown so accustomed to the alliance of state and locality for all sorts of public services that we are apt to take it for granted, and to regard control from Whitehall and subventions from Whitehall along with local activity and initiative and local contributions from rates as existing in the very nature of things. Few people realise how recent is the development of this system of government, and how different it is from the systems employed in other well-organised countries, France, our own Dominions, the U.S.A.; and fewer still are acquainted with its origins and the principles which lie at its roots. It is just about 100 years ago that 'Grants-in-aid', as they are called, began to be given for national purposes to be achieved through local agencies,

at least on such a scale as admitted of expansion. They arose when national purposes began to shape themselves and to be formulated within spheres hitherto left to local enterprise. The maintenance and use of naval and military forces, the administration of justice beyond the region of petty trials, the upkeep of the Court and the machinery of the central government had for centuries been state and not local business; but assistance to the poor, roads, sanitation, policing had been locally administered. Education was under the charge of the Church or of individual bodies or persons. In the early nineteenth century, however, owing partly to the growth and redistribution of population occasioned by the industrial revolution and partly to the philanthropic and religious movements of the period, the necessity for concerted action in order to overcome certain acknowledged evils began to be felt. At the same time it had become evident that local government needed reform. England was no longer an agricultural country for which landowners and bodies of tradesmen could provide a roughly adequate local government; there were large agglomerations of population in the new towns for which the old arrangements through magistrates and small corporations were insufficient. Hence the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 and the Poor Law of 1834. Grants-in-aid did not accompany these Acts automatically or at once; nor were they thought out beforehand as part of a preconceived system. Mr Sidney Webb in his book on *Grants-in-Aid* (1911) says:

What we had to find was some way of securing national inspection and audit, and the amount of national supervision and control that was required in the interest of the community as a whole, without offending the susceptibilities of local autonomy, and without losing the very real advantages of local initiative and local freedom to experiment. Without theory, without science, and, indeed, almost without the notice of political students, a

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solution has been found in the device of Grants in Aid. The National Government, in the course of the three quarters of a century from 1832 successively ‘bought’ the rights of inspection, audit, supervision, initiative, criticism, and control, in respect of one local service after another, and of one kind of local governing body after another, by the grant of annual subventions from the national Exchequer in aid of the local finances, and therefore, in relief of the local rate-payer. By the unself-conscious invention of Grants in Aid, we have, in the United Kingdom, devised a new kind of relation between local and central government.

The method of working of this relation is now to be explained, as it is exemplified in the finance of education.

### ii

The first education grant was made almost by accident in 1833, a sum of £20,000 being voted, to be shared between the two great societies, the National Society in connection with the Church of England and the British and Foreign School Society, and to be employed in helping to build elementary schools. The grant was a state grant but the recipients were of course not L.E.A.’s, for these did not exist until 1870. Yet the principle of stimulating local effort by state contributions was there, for it was always a condition that a school subsidised by education grants must prove that it had local subscriptions. In due course an Education Department was formed to administer the grants and inspection was one of the rights it claimed and secured as its share of the bargain. Under Dr Kay-Shuttleworth, though its sphere of action was small and the resources at its disposal were slender, the Education Department became a real central authority of an admirable kind, encouraging and developing the local enterprise of persons well-disposed towards education, advising rather than directing, through a body of inspectors who were educational missionaries inspired by Kay-Shuttle-

worth's own zeal and enthusiasm. An abrupt end to this state of things came when Robert Lowe introduced his new Code with payment by results. Some details will be found in the following chapter. From the point of view we are now examining the effect was to paralyse the missionary efforts of the inspectors and convert them for the most part into examiners assessing results and to make the Department little more than a paymaster's bureau. In both the conception and the actual functioning of his office, Kay-Shuttleworth and his staff were more like the present Board of Education than the Education Department under its various chiefs was at any period between 1862 and 1900.

The Act of 1870 brought no financial change so far as the method of paying state grants was concerned. The money was calculated on the basis of attendance and on the results of the annual examination, alike for voluntary schools and for board schools. The local contributions for the one set were subscriptions and school pence, for the other the rates with fees. The use of rate-aid for education was an innovation, the importance of which needs no emphasis. The School Board rate was expected to be small and some optimists even hoped that very shortly it might be unnecessary. But the compulsory provision of elementary schools, the central feature of the Act of 1870, proved more costly than at first seemed likely, and even the gigantic efforts of the voluntary societies failed to meet the whole demand for school places, now legally enforced. The policy of falling back on the rates was seen to be inevitable and voluntary schools began to claim to participate in this source of supply. Their difficulties were temporarily eased by the Fee Grant in 1891, and again by the Aid Grant in 1897. But these were not enough and Mr Balfour in 1902 boldly extended rate-aid to all public elementary schools, thus making possible a real and fair system of elementary education. Meanwhile, without any

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substantial alteration in the method of assessing government grants, the total amount annually paid grew with the vastly increased number of children in attendance, and this with other changes described elsewhere in this book led up to the conception of education as a national enterprise to which both the state and the locality contribute.

The partnership between L.E.A.'s and the state faintly adumbrated in 1870 was very partial and imperfect. L.E.A.'s—the School Boards—existed only where they were needed to provide schools where the supply was insufficient; in any case the L.E.A. controlled only board schools and only elementary education. The grants were piecemeal, for about twenty years based on attendance of scholars and on their success in the annual examination; and when by successive changes payment by individual results was replaced by a kind of block grant, after 1900, the block grant itself was estimated and paid on each school separately. The same principle of payment for work done had also prevailed in the very various grants by which the Science and Art Department had for long stimulated the teaching of science and art in grammar schools, technical schools, evening classes and the like. The basis varied from time to time, sometimes calculated on successes in the examinations of the Department, sometimes on qualifications of teachers and, later, on hours of attendance, but it was always reckoned school by school, class by class, if not always pupil by pupil. So also after 1902, when grants were paid mostly to L.E.A.'s and not to individual bodies of managers: grants to elementary schools were undisturbed as a whole: grants to secondary schools were at so much per pupil though here the opportunity was taken to absorb the miscellaneous grants available for education not elementary in a new and larger allowance per head: grants to technical and evening schools were calculated as before.

## iii

These particulars, now of little more than antiquarian interest, are outlined in order to bring out the importance of the change to the present mode of paying state grants to L.E.A.'s. This is the percentage plan, introduced in 1919 to become completely operative in 1922. It is easiest to understand by considering first higher education. The Act of 1902 made a broad division between elementary and higher education, and it will be remembered that the Part III L.E.A.'s described in the second chapter have no powers or duties beyond elementary education. Under higher education is included the maintenance of secondary schools, and other post-elementary schools, whether technical or continuative, scholarships, adult education, training colleges and classes for teachers, and also subsidies to local universities. The amount and complexity of the book-keeping in both government and local offices, when dealing with claims school by school, can be easily imagined.

The percentage plan is that the state and the locality contribute half each to the net expenditure by the L.E.A. on higher education. When income (chiefly in the shape of fees) has been deducted from the total cost, the Board of Education give a grant of fifty per cent. of what remains. This is called the *Deficiency Grant*. The expenditure on which the Deficiency Grant is paid must be 'recognised' by the Board. That is, the Board must 'approve' the staffing of schools, including the Burnham Scales of salaries, and the fees of fee-paying pupils, the number of Free Places (or since 1932 of Special Places), the quality of school buildings and the cost of new schools, as well as the general efficiency of the arrangements of the L.E.A. for higher education.

A simple fifty-fifty procedure for elementary education was out of the question. Already under the older systems the state was paying more than half the cost, at least since

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1902. The income from fees was negligible before 1919 and the last remnants were swept away by the Act of 1918. The provision of buildings by managers of voluntary schools after 1902 was, it is true, a real relief to the rates, but the relief could not be shown on a balance sheet. The supply of facilities for higher education was elastic, and though it could not be easily reduced when once established, the rate of expansion was not legally fixed: but the supply of elementary education was compulsory on the L.E.A.'s as it had been on school boards. A percentage allocation like that for higher education would have imposed too heavy a burden on the rates. Accordingly, for elementary education a special formula was devised. In the 1919 scheme the Board paid 60 per cent. of the teachers' salaries. Under the plan at present in force—the change taking place in 1931—50 per cent. of the cost of teachers' salaries, of the school medical service, of other special services and maintenance allowances, falls on the Board: for loan charges, administration and other expenditure, the Board pays 20 per cent. In addition to this the L.E.A. receives a capitation grant of 45s., reduced by a sum equivalent to the product of a 7d. rate.

### iv

The two formulae just described do not exhaust the state's contribution to educational expenditure. Besides the Deficiency Grant the Board pays a Direct Grant in certain cases, but not to L.E.A.'s. Conceivably the Act of 1902 might have set up a rigid system in which only schools provided by the L.E.A. were to be aided by the state and no others. Such a system exists in some of the British Dominions, where various schools usually established by religious organisations receive no state grant and no local grant. But in England and Wales the voluntary principle as the original principle of education

was so firmly established that few save some extremists wished to see it abandoned and the schools penalised under the new organisation that was contemplated. The Act of 1902 instructed the L.E.A.'s to 'aid' the provision of education other than elementary. From the first, aid was understood to mean not only creating new schools but assisting by grants the existing grammar and similar schools. Proprietary and private schools were not eligible for this local aid: but schools which would admit representatives of the L.E.A. on their governing bodies and would accept a conscience clause were eligible—conditions so easy that numerous secondary schools fulfilled them. In the same way the Board also paid a grant *per capita* to such schools. When the Deficiency Grant scheme was in operation, it soon appeared that the Board was paying twice over, once by the capitation grant and again by the 50 per cent. of the net expenditure of the L.E.A. on higher education, which, as stated above, included aid to schools. Consequently schools eligible for public aid were called upon to elect whether they would receive a grant, usually a lump sum, through the L.E.A., or a capitation grant from the Board. They could not receive both. The schools in question receiving a Direct Grant are certain secondary schools, training colleges under voluntary management, and technical schools which the L.E.A. has not taken over completely, such as the Polytechnics. The capitation grant for secondary schools is £7. 7s. per pupil, for training colleges £43 or £25 according as the student is resident or non-resident, the technical schools a kind of block grant. A very small number of elementary schools, chiefly orphanages, also receive a Direct Grant.

The change from the older system of grants to the percentage system alters the relationship between the central and the local authorities in several respects. In the last century the state encouraged education by offering subsidies which

were almost bribes. Establish and teach a class in mechanics or chemistry and you shall have a grant, said in effect the Science and Art Department. Teach cookery, said the Education Department, and we will give you so much a head. Something of the same attitude was for long observable in certain subsidiary services. In certain departments coming now under the medical branch of the Board, as will be shown in a later chapter, L.E.A.'s have been encouraged to undertake new responsibilities, e.g. with reference to the mentally defective, by the offer of grants in the first instance. The complement to this practice was the power to reduce or refuse grants if the work for which they were offered was imperfectly done or neglected. Both of the older departments exercised the power freely through differential grants or reductions which amounted to fines—2s. a head if the geography was good, 1s. if it was poor, nothing if it was worthless. On a percentage system it is difficult in practice to fine or to deduct and in fact the Board rarely does so. The relationship of paymaster and recipient has quite definitely been abandoned. If in the partnership that replaces it, the L.E.A., the partner that has the initiative, performs his duties, statutory and other, unsatisfactorily, the Board has rather to rely on persuasion and the pressure of public opinion than on the drastic action of former days. The Board has the legal power to 'disallow' expenditure and to refuse the percentage share of it contributed from the Exchequer; but the power lies in the background. The percentage system works well when the country is prosperous and L.E.A.'s need little encouragement to embark upon fresh undertakings. In a period such as the present, when economy is expected, neither the Board nor the Government can do much beyond slowing down the rate of progress: in 1931 the Government summarily reduced the heavy item of salaries and the Board have advocated small economies of staffing.

This consideration brings us to a region into which it is beyond the province of this book to enter. Whether the present system of finance distributes the burden equitably between the taxes and the rates, whether the state should assign a fixed all-over grant in block to education, retaining the power to expend or reduce the total periodically, whether the money devoted to education locally and nationally bears the right proportion to the national income and expenditure, these are questions which would require a volume to themselves and must here be passed by. The purpose of this chapter will have been served if the essentials of the financial connection between the Board and the L.E.A.'s have been made clear.

## v

This chapter would be incomplete without some account of the amounts which are involved in the foregoing sketch of the finance of public education, and some estimate of the growth of expenditure in the last two generations. No balance sheet with classified items can be presented because the 'year' of the Board is the financial year of the Budget, and the year of the L.E.A.'s is different. Also there are miscellaneous additions and deductions, the explanation of which would defeat our aim to be clear and intelligible.

The total present expenditure in the public system of education in England and Wales is estimated at £91 million for non-university education. The bulk of the expenditure is naturally on elementary and secondary schools, on technical education and on the training of teachers. But the sum also includes the cost of the Board's administration and that of L.E.A.'s, state scholarships, pensions to teachers and some agricultural education. The principal items may be mentioned in round numbers: elementary education £54½ million, secondary education £11½ million, technical

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and further education £4½ million, training of teachers £1¼ million, pensions to teachers £6 million, loan charges £5 million, administration £4½ million. To balance this expenditure, about £84 million comes from public funds, that is, in 1932, £43,627,821 from Exchequer grants and £40,350,444 from local rates. The remainder includes contributions by teachers to the pension scheme, over £2½ million, fees in secondary and other non-elementary schools nearly £2¼ million, and various contributions from endowments, etc. The salaries paid to teachers in elementary schools, which are separately assessed in the published returns, amount to almost £39 million. It will be seen that on this estimate not quite 50 per cent. of the whole expenditure is met from state contributions, and that the proportion of such contributions borne by the taxes is 53 per cent. or over and that borne by the rates 47 per cent. or under.

It is to be remembered that these huge sums represent the money expended on the education of about 7 million persons, of whom 5½ million are in elementary schools, over 400,000 in state-aided secondary schools and over 900,000 in technical and allied schools. The estimated population of England and Wales in 1931, of persons up to and including twenty-one years of age, was 13,700,000 and over. Thus about half the population under twenty-two years of age is under instruction of some kind. The number of those over twenty-one who are receiving education is appreciable but does not affect the general statement; it is also calculated that some 400,000 children and young persons are under private instruction. A figure based on reckoning the average cost per person under instruction is not of much practical use. More pertinent are the average cost per annum of educating a child in elementary schools (£12), and the average cost to public funds of boys and girls in secondary schools which are part of the public system (£28–30).

Another comparison of not much value would be a detailed estimate of the growth of the cost of education since the 'sixties of last century, if the comparison rests on figures alone without the recognition of the main causes of the expansion. The Act of 1870 made the provision of school places obligatory throughout the country; and the number of schools added by voluntary bodies and by school boards necessarily increased in consequence; so of course did the Exchequer grants. A further addition to state expenditure was necessitated by the grant in lieu of fees in 1891. The allocation of 'whisky-money' in 1890 to technical education was a windfall from the state, but it brought with it a further expansion of state as well as of local contributions. The Act of 1902 by imposing the maintenance of voluntary elementary schools on the rates and by prescribing the development of secondary as well as of other forms of higher education, added to the charges on both local and central funds. The War increased costs generally, and salary scales on a more generous basis along with pensions for teachers committed the nation to a permanently heavy budget for education. With these facts before one, comparisons between total costs before the War and present costs do little more than confirm the general awareness of the enormous cost of education. The actual increase in the ten years 1923-33 in the total expenditure from central sources was from £40 million to £42 million and from £30 million to £40 million from the rates.

## CHAPTER V

### THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

The five chapters which follow will deal with the different kinds of schools, classes and institutions which are the concern of the L.E.A.'s and the Board of Education in the public system of education in England and Wales. It is best to begin with elementary education: the number of children and of teachers involved and the cost of elementary schools make this side of educational work the most important in point of magnitude; and further in a real sense, as we hope to show, elementary education is the foundation of the whole structure.

#### i

The school called in England and Wales a public elementary school has different names in other countries. In France it is *une école primaire* and the instruction given in it is called *l'instruction primaire*. 'Primary' is accurate and logically implies 'secondary' and the French are consistent in following primary instruction by *l'enseignement secondaire*. 'Elementary' is also accurate enough but suggests 'advanced', a term less susceptible of precise definition administratively than secondary. The German word is *volkschule*, the people's school, descriptive indeed and even picturesque, but not suggesting very clearly what parts of the community are not of the folk. In some quarters in this country 'primary' is preferred to elementary and, as will be shown in the next chapter, the Hadow Report advocates the technical use of 'primary school' for schools taking children up to the age of eleven plus and 'primary education' as denoting all education

up to that age, whether given in publicly maintained schools or elsewhere.

But elementary education and elementary school are the official terms in England and Wales, legally established by successive Acts of Parliament. They imply a very distinct sphere. The Board has an Elementary Branch, with a high official in charge, and inspectors allocated to the Branch. Some small L.E.A.'s, the Part III L.E.A.'s, as we have seen, are authorities for elementary education only, and the county authorities have distinct Elementary Education Committees. Elementary education has its own official Regulations separate from the regulations of other departments: they alone are still called a Code of regulations, a survival of the Codes of 1861 and 1862. The finance of elementary education is peculiar to itself. The reasons for the special treatment of elementary education are not far to seek. Apart from historical origins they lie in the two facts, first, that education up to the age of fourteen is compulsory, and second, that to apply compulsion to nearly six million children of the obligatory school age is evidently impossible without public provision and governmental aid. Hence the public elementary school supplies a fundamental need of the community in a sense not true of any other educational institution at the present time.

The developments of the last six or seven years bid fair to displace the older simple and homogeneous elementary school and to establish in its place a double institution, the primary school up to eleven plus, and the post-primary school under its various names. It will be convenient in the present chapter to treat only of the traditional undivided elementary school and to leave all forms of post-primary education, some of them still officially 'elementary', to subsequent chapters.

The public elementary school—the official designation of the school recognised as providing elementary education—is *public* because no child of the appropriate age can be refused admission on the grounds of class, wealth or poverty, religion, attainments or even nationality. It is public now in another sense, because it is maintained, though not always provided, by public Authorities, national and local. Theoretically, all children up to the age of fourteen could claim to be educated in the public elementary school. Actually, some five and a half million are now in the schools, while about a million are being educated in other schools, some of them under state control, others independent of it, or are educated privately at home or abroad. The English elementary school is not like the *grundschule* of post-war Germany, a channel through which all children in theory should pass: nor has it been, as in the United States, ‘end-on’ to schools of a more advanced type, secondary or high schools. It is expected to offer a complete education of its kind, *elementary* education. It is difficult if not impossible to define ‘elementary education’ with any precision. For long it covered little more than reading, writing and arithmetic, with needlework for girls. In 1899, as will be described in the next chapter, the London School Board was brought sharply to book for transgressing the limits of what was then held to be elementary education. That day is past, for the L.E.A.’s have powers over other forms of education besides the elementary form, and the school boards were never given these powers by statute. Elementary education is still undefined except as that which is given in elementary schools which are recognised as such by the Board of Education. At the same time the common sense of L.E.A.’s and of the public, the natural limitations of young pupils and the general financial provisions for elemen-

tary education impose effective restrictions against extravagance and eccentricity. If it is pushed to a point, even the strictly legal interpretation of elementary education appears to be obscure. If a parent was challenged to prove in court that his child was being efficiently educated though not in a public elementary school, a magistrate would probably be bound to accept adequate evidence that the child could read, write with reasonable accuracy and do simple arithmetic: what the exact standard of ability would be is extremely doubtful.

Elementary education is now entirely free, and no fees are chargeable in the various post-primary schools which are still officially 'elementary'. The age of compulsory education begins at five, in a very few areas at six, and children may be admitted at the age of three. The proposals frequently made to exclude children under five, and even to raise the age of compulsion to six, have been unsuccessful so far because of the resistance of L.E.A.'s which have to deal with the poorer population of large towns. Attendance is now obligatory up to the end of the term in which a child completes his fourteenth year. Many European countries prescribe a definite school period of six or eight years of attendance and invariably begin the period at six and not below. One striking result of the admission into schools of children of five years old and younger is the English infants' school, which has no exact parallel abroad.

The main portion of the traditional elementary school is 'for older scholars', to use the official phrase. This may be a mixed school with both boys and girls, or may be two separate schools or departments, for boys and for girls. Co-education has never been a vexed question in our elementary schools. Whether older boys and girls are taught together or separately in a particular place has depended on a variety of circumstances, tradition, convenience, economy, the pre-

dilection of managers, or, more rarely, the conviction of principle. There are curious differences in the same area and no generalisation is possible. Large town schools tend to be in separate departments: for instance, the London School Board usually built schools in three storeys, for boys, girls and infants respectively, but other school boards erected large mixed schools. The typical village school is mixed, with a small infants' division: yet one may find in some places boys' and girls' schools of no great size in different parts of a village. A small school board established a mixed school for economy and convenience. Church schools, when they are large, tend to have the sexes separate and so do Roman Catholic schools in towns. But in the North of England there are many quite populous church mixed schools, for the Sunday schools there are also mixed. The undenominational schools were predominantly of the mixed order; though in the early 'British' monitorial schools boys and girls were taught separately. Some L.E.A.'s have anticipated the Hadow Report in a fashion by horizontal division into Junior Mixed and Senior Mixed departments, thereby adding another, and at the present time a rather embarrassing variety.

From a historical point of view the most striking fact concerning the English public elementary school is the continued existence of the dual system established by the Act of 1870. Before 1870, it will be remembered, all elementary schools were in the first instance built and established by voluntary effort. The Act of 1870 created other schools which were built by school boards from moneys coming from the rates. Subsequent Acts have not disturbed this dualism of origin and there exist side by side in the same area, and often in the same village, schools whose buildings are publicly owned and schools which are in other hands. Maintenance, as distinct from provision and ownership, was subject to the same dualism up to 1902. The voluntary schools were maintained,

their running expenses in salaries, apparatus, rent and repairs were paid by the managers from what they received in government grant, in fees, in subscriptions, and in rare cases also from endowments. In board schools the cost of maintenance, like the cost of building and repairs, was met from government grant, from fees, and from the rates. Neither board nor voluntary schools received any grant except for instruction. Since the Act of 1902 all alike have been 'maintained' by the L.E.A. with the help of government grants as explained in the preceding chapter. The two types are called officially 'provided' and 'non-provided' schools: provided schools are so called because they are provided by the L.E.A. The names are not happy, because they leave in ambiguity the source of the provision. Here it will be clearer to use the terms council school and voluntary school.

The difference between the two kinds of schools besides that of ownership, turns on two points, management and religious instruction. The two are intimately related; in voluntary schools it is the managers that determine the religious instruction. The managers of these schools, though by the Act of 1902 they are relieved of the main burden of maintenance, the payment of salaries and the replacement of furniture and apparatus, still retain many of the responsibilities of their predecessors before 1902. They are normally for each voluntary school six in number, four of whom are foundation managers, according to the terms of the trust deed, and two are appointed by the L.E.A. They must keep the fabric in good condition, subject to an allowance for wear and tear, and must themselves be responsible for extensions and substantial alterations. As has just been said, they settle the kind of religious instruction that is to be given in the schools; and as a corollary, they appoint the teachers, subject to such staffing rules as may be issued by the L.E.A. Thus the managers of a Church of England school will appoint a

churchman or churchwoman as head and will see that the assistant staff is competent to give a religious training of which they approve. So the managers of a Roman Catholic school will appoint teachers of the same faith, and they may, subject to the approval of the L.E.A., which is very seldom refused, engage members of teaching orders on the staff. Managers of Jewish or Wesleyan, or purely undenominational schools have the same powers. It is hardly necessary to say that the clergyman and the priest are among the foundation managers of schools attached to their respective churches. The L.E.A. has the power of vetoing the appointment of a teacher upon educational grounds but has no kind of veto on the character of the religious teaching. Managers of council schools have a much less responsible rôle. They are appointed by local authorities, not wholly by education authorities, according to rules which vary with the kind of area. Many county boroughs such as Manchester and Salford have no managers for individual schools. Whatever the particular form of management the L.E.A. has the supreme control over every council school. Where bodies of managers exist they are expected to watch the general interests of their school, sometimes helping in the choice of staff, and always striving to let teachers and children feel that the school is something more than a machine.

Though the differences between voluntary and council schools are, in respect of management and religious teaching, of fundamental importance, the two sets of schools belong to the same system, have the same problems and are to be considered as working for the same ends in general education and by the same means. The L.E.A. has full control over 'secular education' in voluntary as in council schools, and, as has been said, it maintains all of them, paying the teachers and supplying apparatus, stationery and furniture to all alike. The figures given in the appendix will show that the voluntary

schools are in no insignificant minority as they are in Scotland, the U.S.A. and many British Dominions, but form an integral part of national elementary education.

## iii

The fact that the elementary school lies at the base of our public education has been only tardily recognised, and it is hardly completely recognised even now. Its beginnings were philanthropic and up to the end of the last century it retained many traces of its origin. True the Act of 1870 made the universal provision of elementary schools obligatory, and the Acts of 1876 and 1880 finally introduced compulsion on parents to give the elements of instruction to their children, thus appearing to establish elementary education in an all-embracing organisation. But many factors in the thirty years after 1870 disguised the real position of the schools, as they obscured their real function. The incidence of School Board rates, the rivalry of board and voluntary schools, the calls upon the purse of those who supported voluntary schools, were all obstacles to the popularisation of the schools, and all tended to keep alive the idea that elementary education was a regrettable necessity, not far removed from the disagreeable duty of maintaining the indigent poor. Moreover, for the greater part of the century, even after 1870, the elementary schools were in effect isolated from forms of education considered to be superior; and this in spite of educational ladders which were set up in many places. The schools virtually formed a closed circle, almost a close corporation, the subject of special legislation; they were administered by an Education office which itself had few or no connections with education beyond elementary education. Few children left the elementary for other schools, and the teachers, as pupil teachers and as students in training colleges, were under the elementary

régime with seldom a glimpse of teaching or of training outside the elementary system.

Apart from its isolation elementary education lay under two heavy disabilities, both lightened if not wholly removed in the last forty years. The first lay in the consequences that followed the Act of 1870 when board and non-board schools worked often actually side by side, but with very different resources. Differences in comfort and convenience, in stability and security were inevitable. Though not all voluntary schools were poor and ill-found and though many School Boards were niggardly, board schools in general were better built than voluntary schools, better staffed, the teachers better paid, the rooms better equipped. As board schools increased and as the standard of education rose, voluntary schools felt the strain to be unbearable, and the conviction grew that it was beyond the powers of private enterprise fully to share in the provision of elementary education on the terms that were then unescapable. For our present purpose, and looking mainly at externals, we stress the differences between the two kinds of schools which made the elementary system before 1902 a system of divided interests, of two irreconcilable types of institution, with rivalries and on one side a feeling of injustice. It must not be forgotten, of course, that entangled in these differences were the controversies between opposing parties on religious education which kept alive the general unrest and dissatisfaction. This book does not enter into an examination of these disputes. It is desirable, however, to point out that so long as there were two sorts of elementary schools, markedly distinguishable, there could be no public recognition of elementary education as one consistent activity in which the whole nation is concerned.

The Act of 1902 had results which were not specifically contemplated during the tumultuous debates which accompanied Mr Balfour's Bill through Parliament. The supporters

of the Bill wished to put voluntary schools on an equality with board schools by giving them rate-aid and thus relieve the 'intolerable strain' under which they were undoubtedly suffering. But the Act of 1902 accomplished much more than mere relief. The conception of the elementary school as a species of charity faded away when all the common schools were under one local authority and were maintained from one common fund. Rivalry between provided and non-provided schools did not wholly disappear but it was no longer emphasised by manifest inequality of resources. It was now possible to look upon the elementary schools as one body of public institutions, a necessary and now not an unwelcome element in local autonomy. They became the schools of the people in a sense never before fully realised. For the first time since 1870 they were homogeneous, as since 1870 they had been universal. The English elementary school system was not fully established until 1902.

Under the new unified administration at the centre and in each area the isolation of the elementary schools was also finally broken down. The actual measures by which the schools were linked with other forms of education fall to be described in subsequent chapters, but they may be summarily indicated here. One of the first actions of the L.E.A.'s was to initiate scholarships to secondary schools and to extend and popularise those which they found already established. In 1907 the Liberal Government, actuated partly by the desire to redress the balance which they held the Act of 1902 had weighted against the development of popular education, introduced the Free Place procedure, by which normally 25 per cent. of admissions into state-provided and state-aided secondary schools must be offered free to children from elementary schools. In 1904 the Board of Education, though not summarily destroying the pupil-teacher mode of training candidates for the teaching profession, introduced an alter-

native plan through which the young future teacher should be taught in a secondary school: this process was now possible when an articulated system of secondary schools was being actively created. Elementary schools had always been the feeders of evening schools, but since 1890 the two sets had been under different central and local authorities, and after 1902 they were governed by the same authority. It was now more easy to develop a means of approach up to the highest technical education. In sum the elementary school was now a full member of the comity of colleges and schools.

The second disability lay in the relations between the central authority—the Education Department, as it then was—and the schools. These were founded on the principle of payment by results. The Department laid down in the Code a scheme of work to be accomplished by all schools as a condition of grant; and the amount of grant bestowed depended in large part on the ability of pupils to pass an annual examination. Up to 1895 all children above six years of age were tested by H.M. Inspector individually and 'earned' for the school sums proportional to their success. The idea of prescribing in detail what subjects should be taught and in what stages, what books should be read and how many, will not strike a foreign observer, accustomed to the ordinances of many European states, as strange or oppressive. But the method of apportioning grants not according to the general efficiency of the school, but according to the individual performances of the children in the three R's, will seem oddly commercial. Further, grants were hedged round with prohibitions and conditions. The teaching was necessarily as much on a piecemeal plan as the payment of grants. In a well-found school, board or voluntary, the obligatory sections of the prescribed syllabus could be mastered at the cost of industry and hard work, for they were not too onerous. But where a school had a small and ill-qualified staff, where

attendance was bad and the children got no help from their home surroundings, payment by results was positively wicked. A school was poorly provided and consequently produced poor results; it received therefore low grants: it was penalised for its poverty and became poorer still. It requires little imagination to picture the effect on teachers and children; the supreme importance of the annual test, on which so much, often even the teacher's salary, depended; the drill in reading, in arithmetic and in spelling that preceded it; the pressure brought to bear on the slow, pressure that tempted and led to punishment; in short a whole atmosphere of constraint. The absence of freedom to vary subjects and methods galled the thoughtful and independent. The minimum of requirements for each item in the schedule of grants once faithfully fulfilled, there was no financial inducement to go beyond, and no ideal of what elementary education should be was laid down in the official codes. Some bold spirits taught lessons which did not 'pay' in grants, but most were too busily occupied in making sure of what was demanded to venture into fields into which they were not positively directed.

The pernicious policy of payment by results, criticised from the beginning in 1862 by men like Matthew Arnold and Kay-Shuttleworth, was constantly assailed by the National Union of (Elementary) Teachers, founded in 1870, as well as by outside observers. But an important Commission—the Cross Commission—which the government of the day set up in 1886, would not hear of any substantial change in principle though they urged a greater elasticity in administration. The most odious features were gradually modified and in 1895 inspection began to replace examination. But piecemeal grants and a fixed syllabus remained until the end of the century, and their summary abolition in 1900 marks the beginning of a new era in elementary education.

Not to leave too unfavourable an impression of the last

thirty to forty years of the century, one or two observations may be permitted. The elementary system, narrow as it was, had the advantage of being clear and precise; it evolved a technique of its own, decidedly effective for the purpose for which it was designed, a technique, moreover, not without influence upon other forms of teaching. It aimed at acquirements, positive knowledge and information, as indeed did contemporary teaching in secondary schools for the most part, and not much at the deliberate development of powers and interests, at instruction and not so much at education. The results, if often evanescent, were certainly produced for the examination, and they furnished the tools of learning, which, in spite of shocking examples to the contrary, have not lain idle and unused. If the English nation cannot be called a 'literate' nation in a scholarly sense, the stigma of illiteracy, as it is generally understood, has been removed. The discipline of the schools, to which the rigour of payment by results undoubtedly contributed, helped to civilise large portions of the youthful population hitherto apt to run wild, and impressed on everybody the conviction that schooling was essential to the upbringing of the generations as they arrived. The Boer War, while it revealed the physical deficiencies of the common people, also revealed their intelligence and adaptability, and the Great War confirmed the possession of these qualities.

## iv

It is appropriate at this point, and before proceeding to the 'recent history' of the elementary school, to describe the changes in the inner working of the schools which resulted from the disappearance of the plan of payment by results, with the accompanying schedule of requirements. Relaxations in the stringency of requirements and, as related on a previous

page, in the frequency of examinations had taken place in the years preceding 1900. But it was the Code of 1900 which opened the new era. The fact that this Code was promulgated on the eve of the discussions which preceded the Act of 1902 was little more than a coincidence, but a happy coincidence, for the relief that Mr Balfour's Act gave to the voluntary schools enabled the teachers in these schools to take advantage of the new freedom.

The Code of 1900 summarily removed the piecemeal grants: in schools for the older scholars 14s. or 12s. 6d. for general efficiency, 1s. 6d. or 1s. for discipline, 2s. or 1s. for no more than each of two 'class subjects', 1s. or 6d. for singing and other grants for 'specific subjects'. Instead of these there was substituted an all-over grant of 22s. or 21s. according to the inspector's estimate of general efficiency. It was easy a little later to abolish the discrimination between schools earning 21s. and those earning 22s., as in infants' schools to cease to classify into 17s. and 16s. schools. With the block grant was necessarily linked a 'block' curriculum, and the old distinction between elementary, class, and specific subjects was swept away with the peculiar nomenclature. All schools were expected to teach the usual subjects in normal circumstances; and instead of the subjects themselves being split up with sections for each 'standard', their general scope and purpose were stated in a series of carefully written Articles which anticipated in brief the later 'Suggestions'. Further, in the Code of 1904 there appeared a noble preface, understood to be the work of Sir Robert Morant himself, which in language both dignified and generous set out the function of the elementary school in the life of the nation.

Thus in a quiet way a revolution was affected, the magnitude of which can only be appreciated by comparing the elementary school of the 'seventies and the 'eighties as sketchily drawn in a previous page with the school of to-day. The

change had nothing to do with the Act of 1902 and was quite remote from the political storms that accompanied the passage of that Act. But without the easier material conditions which that Act procured for most schools, the benefit of the change could hardly have been fully enjoyed. The change was twofold, not only bestowing freedom on the teacher, but also emphasising the new attitude of the Central Authority. The Education Department had prescribed the detailed conditions of Parliamentary grant and had administered the Code in a legal spirit. The Board of Education, without surrendering the control over Parliamentary grant, took up the position of director and advisor, both of the L.E.A.'s and of the teachers. The very title of the document which embodied this new policy—*Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others*—typified the new attitude. These suggestions, first issued in 1905, were rewritten in 1912 and again in 1926. They are based on the experience of the Board's inspectors in the best schools. They are definitely 'suggestions' and invite 'consideration', imposing no obligation to accept them.

The teachers took advantage of the new freedom slowly and cautiously, fearing a reaction and the reimposition of the ancient tests. Some L.E.A.'s, following the practice of certain school boards, had codes and examinations of their own, in which many of the bad features of the original Codes were retained, and it took some years before their distrust of their own teachers was dispelled. In general, however, the sense of real freedom spread, and the comprehensiveness, the variety and the easier discipline of the elementary school of to-day were attained. The common verdict of observers of the schools, managers, inspectors and teachers, was that there was a definite loss of the old 'accuracy', so laboriously won for the examinations and so precariously preserved, with a noteworthy increase in intelligent teaching and intelligent learning.

A whole book would be required to describe the resultant changes in detail, but a few salient examples may here be indicated.

The infants' schools were the first to profit by the new conditions. A few enterprising teachers had previously sought to make the schools places of happy natural activity instead of being mere preparatory departments for the first standard of the senior schools. New methods began to replace the older drill, and the kindergarten idea, which had frequently been misinterpreted and had produced a dull mechanical routine carried out at the word of command, took on a new meaning. The medical influences now brought to bear on the schools and the growing interest in the psychological study of childhood contributed to destroy the old-fashioned school in which for the most part children sat on benches and spoke, often in chorus, when they were spoken to, and rarely indulged in the free movement natural to them in real life. Partly, but not wholly, owing to the vogue of Mme Montessori's doctrines, the formal class method of teaching was abandoned in favour of group and individual methods, and teachers gladly used the discovery that young children would eagerly teach themselves under guidance. The result has been a real transformation of the infants' school. The nursery school movement also has had effects far beyond the few schools actually called by that name. It has been generally perceived that the teaching of infants is not mainly an affair of introducing them to the elements of book-learning, but of training and developing their bodies and minds in every direction.

The bookishness of the elementary school, as of other schools, has constantly been a matter of reproach, and under the old Codes there was no escape from it. The modern trivium—which should be a quadrivium, with drawing added to the three R's—makes a certain amount of bookishness inevitable. But it has been beneficially modified, not only by

the spread of instruction in handicraft, gardening and the domestic arts, but also by more 'practical' methods of dealing with subjects formerly considered to be mainly literary: the association of handwork with arithmetic and geography, the out-of-door observations in nature study and visits to note geographical phenomena and to see objects of historical interest, are examples. All this kind of teaching was impossible under the former conditions, and could be only rarely undertaken now without the active sympathy and the enlarged resources of the L.E.A.'s. The content of the separate subjects has been altered with the rise of new methods of dealing with them, and the old geography, for instance, is very different from the modern in almost every important respect. The most striking change is in English, which once officially meant English grammar with a little recitation, reading in school having little or no direct connection with English as now understood. Children learn poetry and not 'recitation', read books and not 'readers', use school and public libraries and have some simple introduction to first-rate literature. Surely Matthew Arnold, with his constantly reiterated plea for humane letters, would have rejoiced over the opportunities of the present-day elementary school. The revolution of the last thirty years must not, of course, be exaggerated. Tradition dies hard, and not all the foolish practices and the illiberal conceptions of the old régime have disappeared. Moreover, elementary instruction, if not quite as simple a matter as Arnold once thought, must correspond with the capacities of the young and answer to imperative social needs; an elementary school is still an elementary school, but it has not only altered in numberless particulars, it has acquired so new a spirit that its ancestor of half a century ago would now appear to be a very curiosity.

## v

In the foregoing sections an attempt has been made to describe what the elementary school in England and Wales now is and how changed it is from the elementary school of fifty years ago. In bringing about the transformation there sketched the Central Authority—the old Education Department and the Board of Education—was the principal agent. In some accounts of the events round about 1900 insufficient honour is done to the Education Department and to the liberalising attitude towards elementary education which its leading personalities undoubtedly cherished: for the Code of 1900 and the substitution of inspection for examination were the work of the Department, when it was a separate office; and Sir Robert Morant in the new Board had but to broaden and extend the path already laid out by his immediate predecessors. When it was absorbed by the Board, the Department had already shaken itself, as well as the schools, free from the traditions of the old régime. The ‘recent history’, however, of the elementary school is not confined to the story of the emancipation from shackles, or to the efforts of the Board to harmonise the curriculum. The L.E.A.’s have played a great part, and since the Act of 1902 public opinion, both lay and expert, has moved in new directions. In the present section it is proposed to relate how the new L.E.A.’s discharged their onerous task.

The task before the L.E.A.’s after the Act of 1902 was indeed formidable in the sphere of elementary education alone. They had to ‘maintain’ all public elementary schools in their areas, not only the comparatively well-found board schools in London and some other towns, not always large, but also all the voluntary schools, the prosperous and the struggling alike. Maintenance meant obviously that something approaching an equal standard should be aimed at in

matters of staff, equipment and ultimately buildings. The very first undertaking was to see that all schools had an adequate amount of teaching material in books, stationery and the like in readiness for the appointed day in 1903, or for London, 1904; for many of the schools were notoriously ill-equipped. Some malicious observers expected a breakdown when the day came and a period of confusion which should bear witness to the incapacity of the new L.E.A.'s. But no catastrophe occurred and the teachers in many a poor school, voluntary or board, found themselves supplied with a sufficiency of material to which they had never been accustomed. Scales of staffing and of salaries soon followed, and it is fair to say that the old 'intolerable strain' which bore upon managers, and still more on teachers and children, was at once or very rapidly mitigated if not removed. Much remained to be done in subsequent years, and as the standard rises, still much remains to be done especially in the reduction of the size of classes. But the comparative ease with which the new machinery began to work swept away the sense of grievance under which managers and teachers had laboured and certainly added to the comfort of the scholars. The L.E.A.'s won public confidence at the outset.

Larger questions than those of adjustment and the removal of patent inequalities in material and staff exercised the L.E.A.'s from the first. Like the school boards they had the duty of supplying school accommodation where it was required. Unlike the school boards they had the power of refusing to maintain voluntary schools which in point of building and accommodation were gravely deficient and of calling upon managers for improvements and repairs as a condition of maintenance. Accordingly all L.E.A.'s made some kind of survey of the existing schools, superficial in some instances, very thorough in London, Durham County, the West Riding and certain other L.E.A.'s. The monumental

survey of the London Authority covered 433 voluntary schools, and conditions were laid down under which these could be accepted as permanent schools: as a result very substantial improvements were made in most of the schools at the expense of the managers and only twenty-three were closed entirely. But the problem was far from being as simple as this bare statement suggests. The closure of a school usually meant replacement by a new school and replacement was not only costly in itself but often extremely difficult to carry out in a congested area. The L.E.A.'s inherited an extraordinary variety of schools: some recently built, commodious and well-situated, usually board schools: a certain number of old schools originally well designed and suitably placed or adapted to the needs of the time by managers or school boards: old but stoutly built board schools planned in the early days with huge schoolrooms and classrooms to hold seventy or eighty children, almost hopelessly unsuitable for modern teaching: old voluntary schools, including some but not many church schools, recently transferred to the school board by managers who could no longer even maintain them in a decent state of repair, but too useful in providing at least floor space to be summarily closed down without being replaced: voluntary schools of all ages and designs which managers were resolved to keep alive at all costs. With the prospect of a general Act of Parliament, in the near future, improvements had been slow for some years, though by no means negligible; there had been a great reluctance to provide new schools where the pressure of population called for them. No L.E.A. could adopt a precipitate policy in the circumstances, and with the strong position the voluntary schools had gained by the Act of 1902, no authority could ride rough-shod over them. The first immediate need in many places was to supply new accommodation which was plainly wanted in order to close the worst of the transferred buildings or to

relieve serious overcrowding; and this was especially true of towns which had had no school boards, and in villages developing industrially in the country. Thus in the early years after the Act many new council schools were put up in all parts of England and Wales and many of the worst of the old schools were finally closed.

The improvement of existing premises and fabric was taken in hand by some vigorous authorities, such as London, but for the most part the initiative in it was assumed by the Board of Education. The old Education Department had exercised pressure on managers and school boards to remove defects in school buildings. But the pressure had been intermittent, conveyed usually through the annual reports of H.M. Inspectors. Now, when there was one comprehensive authority in each area, it was possible to pursue a systematic policy. Basement rooms were condemned—there were shocking examples in some towns—and ceased in due course to be used as classrooms. In 1908–9 the ‘accommodation’ of every school was reassessed, so as to give every older child at least ten square feet and each infant nine square feet of floor space. This was carried through in spite of some resentment where the accommodation of voluntary schools was thus curtailed. In 1908 what is known as the Black List enquiry was undertaken. H.M. Inspectors were asked to classify all schools in their districts into three divisions: schools which had no defects of such magnitude as to call for urgent attention, schools which had serious but remediable defects, and schools so unsatisfactory that they should be closed. The Board presented the Black List to the L.E.A.’s, not as a schedule of demands to be insisted upon at once but as a review of the ultimate liabilities of the L.E.A. The Board of course urged that the worst cases should be dealt with as promptly as possible. But the general policy of the Board in all departments of education has been to expect the L.E.A.’s

to think out long-distance schemes of improvement and development and to have a reasoned programme on which to proceed. This was a very decided advance on the former almost inevitable method of piecemeal demands on individual schools with no relation to wider problems. Considerable progress was made before the War in reducing the number of hopeless schools and in improving others. But many condemned schools have lived long after their sentence of death. Indeed in some populous towns they still live because their closing involves problems of replacement all but insoluble. Now and then a slum area is invaded by industry or commerce, its population migrates, and an old school, often with wholesome traditions amid its shocking surroundings dies a natural death. In other cases schools are saved at the last moment by an ingenious architect; or again a site offers itself in the centre of a town and upon it a school may be built to take the place of three or four buildings beyond the powers of the most skilful to recondition for permanent use. After the War, which suspended operations, the Black List policy was resumed in 1924 and the Annual Reports of the Board record the steady progress towards the elimination of the worst schools on the List.

The policy just described could have had no success if the L.E.A.'s had not recognised its essential justice and if managers of schools and the ratepaying and subscribing public had not, however reluctantly, acquiesced. It is no doubt true that the standard of the Board has been rising from period to period; but it is also true that the public standard has also risen. When Mr Acland in 1892 had a special enquiry made into school amenities, such as cloakrooms, he met with a storm of protest and his action was construed as an attack on the voluntary system. But no one now questions the necessity of cloakrooms, of proper provision for washing, of the means for drying wet outdoor clothing and boots, or of other decencies

which Mr Acland dared not suggest. The rising standard is due in large part to the growth of a keener hygienic conscience generally, and this again is owing partly to the association of the medical service with the schools. This topic is treated in greater detail in the chapter on Health in the School.

The most troublesome problem in dealing with schools in themselves sound and capable of being improved in respect of lighting, heating and ventilation has been that of classrooms. The L.E.A.'s here had an oppressive legacy from the past. The original suggestion of the early Education Department that a barn was no bad model for a school was meant for schools on the monitorial plan, where a school would have one adult teacher with a staff of monitors, or later, pupil teachers under his eye. When adult teachers had become more numerous, the idea that each school should possess at least one large schoolroom still prevailed, as it had prevailed in the old public school, where several masters taught in Big School. This principle suited voluntary schools attached to a church or chapel which required such a room for Sundays, and it was extremely popular in the north of England, especially in Lancashire. Many board schools, built after 1870, copied it to this extent that besides the few classrooms there was one huge room regularly occupied by several classes. Before 1902 some progress had been made in increasing the number of classrooms, by addition or more frequently by partitions. Partitioning was effective up to a certain point, for at least it separated classes. But, except by accident, it did not solve the difficulty of the awkward size of many classrooms. At a time when staffs were increased and it was possible to reduce the swollen classes of an earlier day, classrooms to hold seventy or eighty entailed much waste space, and if further subdivided were too small. The process of conversion was necessarily slow. London undertook a comprehensive scheme to bring all the old council schools up to modern needs by structural

changes which would result in classrooms for forty older children and for forty-eight younger. Other L.E.A.'s improved here and there, as opportunity offered. In general it may be said that the L.E.A.'s have responded remarkably well to the demands of the situation as they found it in 1903, and that the ideal of a classroom not overcrowded for each class is in most quarters realised.

The need for economy in public expenditure has stimulated enquiries into methods of constructing schools other than with bricks and mortar, but no resounding results can be recorded. At the same time many critics have suggested that school buildings should not be too substantially constructed, lest with the possible changes in educational methods and ideas, future authorities may be as much embarrassed by the possession of them as many L.E.A.'s have been in the last thirty years. The question is too complicated to be discussed here. We must be content to record, however sketchily, what has been done in this generation to add to the comfort of the pupils and to the convenience and efficiency of the teachers.

## CHAPTER VI

### POST-PRIMARY EDUCATION

The account of the English elementary school in the previous chapter has been intentionally confined to the school in its simple form, a free school attended by the mass of child population from the age of five or earlier up to the age of thirteen or fourteen. Higher Elementary and Central Schools have been left for separate treatment, as have the special varieties of schools for the physical and mentally defective. The latter group will appear in a chapter devoted to the Medical Service. The tendencies and ambitions which gave rise to the former must have some detailed treatment, not only because of their intrinsic interest, as illustrating the development of educational ideas, but also because the movements they exemplify have come rapidly to a head within the last ten years and have resulted in practical measures which are apparently destined to transform the face of elementary education in England and Wales. These measures, alluded to from time to time in preceding pages, are the schemes of reorganisation associated with the name of Sir Henry Hadow. The central idea behind them is that all education up to the age of eleven plus should be regarded as 'primary' (in whatever kind of school it is given), and that the various forms of subsequent training being strictly 'post-primary' should be thought of as such; where education is continued within the elementary school itself, it should be separately organised and the post-primary period should be recognised as a stage with its own ideals and its own framework and methods.

Though the name is new, the need for some organised post-elementary education was felt as soon as elementary schools became universal after 1870. The grammar and endowed schools were remote and could be reached only by a few winners of scholarships, the public schools still more distant and entirely inaccessible from the elementary school. But no sooner had the board schools become firmly settled than the best pupils easily mastered the standard work prescribed by the Code and were ready to go beyond the standards and to attack subjects not attempted in the ordinary schools. The larger boards set up Higher Grade Board Schools with some mathematics, French and science in addition to the three R's. Similarly some prosperous voluntary schools called themselves Higher Grade, partly on the strength of a higher fee and partly on the more advanced instruction imparted in them. Certain school boards deliberately adopted the policy of encouraging the higher grade type of school and were more or less openly invading the field of secondary education. A kind of crisis occurred in 1899 when the Local Government Auditor (Mr Cockerton) challenged the right of the London School Board to spend money upon education that was not elementary—the science and art classes in higher grade schools—and upon the education of pupils beyond the compulsory school age—in evening schools for youths and adults and in pupil teacher classes. The Cockerton judgment was upheld by the House of Lords and its obvious effect was to paralyse the work of the progressive school boards. The impasse thus created had to be met by annual Acts to permit the school boards to spend public money as before for what was now pronounced to be illegal purposes. But such conditions clearly could not continue indefinitely, and the famous judgment coming after a period when the

need for organising secondary education was becoming increasingly urgent undoubtedly led to the Act of 1902.

The history of the agitations concerning the future of education beyond the elementary schools during the score of years at the close of the nineteenth century belongs strictly to that century, though some references will have to be made to it in the following chapter. The various troubles were due at bottom to the general pressure of elementary schools upwards and to the great reluctance of the nation to follow Arnold's advice to 'organise your secondary instruction'. He was right in the 'sixties when the local grammar schools were still bound by the statutes and schemes of government of an earlier day. He was equally right in the 'seventies when the endowed schools had begun to flourish again. But meantime there was a new class of people requiring education beyond the standards, for whom the resuscitated grammar schools were not adequate. For Arnold had in view not the well-to-do people whose sons could stay at school till eighteen or nineteen, but those less well-to-do whose school period ended at fifteen, sixteen or seventeen; he wanted more middle schools and advised the nation to undertake this highly important kind of education in a systematic way. Perhaps it was well that his advice was not hurriedly adopted, for a well-entrenched secondary system erected independently of the school boards and before the new county councils had settled down to work might have been more difficult to absorb into a national system than the scattered school boards were. But the long delay meant endless friction and controversy, and meantime the claims of the rising working classes went unsatisfied. The Act of 1902 solved the difficulties by creating L.E.A.'s empowered to organise secondary education and not forbidden to extend elementary education. The miscellany of Higher Grade Board Schools, Schools of Science, and Pupil Teacher Centres at once passed into the sphere of secondary education.

But the solution was not complete. It left untouched the growing numbers of elementary scholars able and willing to go beyond the usual elementary instruction but unable to take a full secondary course. As will be shown in the next chapter, the official definition of a school which was to be eligible for secondary grants had to be strictly drawn in the interests of the new schools themselves. In fact the Board of Education had to adopt for a time a rather drastic attitude towards many schools which put forward claims to be considered secondary, because they had been called higher grade, and to discourage some specious attempts in elementary schools to teach subjects supposed to be secondary, like French and science, without any real prospect of success. It seemed as if the charge made by the opponents of the Act of 1902, that the Act aimed at depressing popular education, was to be justified after all; elementary schools were to be elementary and nothing more. To meet the situation and to provide a kind of advanced education for elementary schools, the Board created a new type, the Higher Elementary School for children from ten to fourteen; this was before the Act of 1902 had really cleared the air administratively. This sort of school was to receive grants on a higher scale than those of the ordinary school, but the conditions were stiff and, as the leaving age was fourteen, the new schools could in no way satisfy the obvious need for a higher primary type of education. In 1905 the Regulations were recast and a fresh kind of school was permitted, with an age-range from twelve to fifteen. Again the conditions, though easier than before, were rigid; but a certain number of L.E.A.'s, chiefly those with a comfortably circumstanced suburban population, established a small number of such Higher Elementary Schools. But the larger L.E.A.'s, like London, Manchester and Liverpool, would have nothing to do with the scheme. They kept the schools formerly regarded as 'higher grade' but not suitable

for conversion into secondary schools, experimented with various forms of advanced instruction and definitely refused to earn the higher grants available for Higher Elementary Schools because of the cramping rules which accompanied them. This action, which was not concerted but grew out of the circumstances in each area, is of considerable importance, for the experience of these Central Schools, as they were usually but not universally called, especially the experience of the London Central Schools, clearly guided the Consultative Committee in the Hadow Report. The special Higher Elementary Regulations were withdrawn in 1919 without protest, when the present grant system was instituted.

## ii

The higher elementary schools were so few that they made no weighty contribution to the problem of providing suitable education for children who were ready to stay at school beyond fourteen. Though the demand for opportunities of advanced education to be open to children of elementary schools continued and even strengthened, the question became less immediately acute before the War, as the activities of the L.E.A.'s took effect. The rapid provision of cheaper secondary schools in part satisfied the need. When scholarship systems were set on foot and when the free place requirements were made in 1907, more and more elementary school children passed regularly into secondary schools, while for many who did not the central schools supplemented the secondary provision in many large towns. By 1914 the irritation caused by the Cockerton judgment had completely died down, and with it the suspicion of dark designs on the extension of popular education.

Up to the War no specific action beyond what has just been described had been taken in the direction of post-

primary education. The Consultative Committee, it is true, were invited to consider higher elementary schools in 1905 but their report in 1906 did not carry matters much further forward, and it was followed by no official action either by the Board or by the L.E.A.'s. The L.E.A.'s were absorbed chiefly in consolidating elementary and secondary education with their concomitant pressing problems. The Great War, which stopped expansion of all kinds for the time, gave an extraordinary stimulus to popular interest in education. The scholars in all schools felt themselves to be partners with the whole nation in the long struggle, and both combatants and non-combatants cherished a determination that the next generation should have better chances than the generations that were fighting and suffering. The last remnants of political opposition to educational progress, very little in evidence in the previous dozen years, disappeared, and all the political parties were committed to advance, if not to particular lines of advance. The general readiness to accept Mr Fisher's Act of 1918 is significant. The Act was accepted, not as a set of detailed provisions, for the continuation schools were not to be put into operation at once, so much as a national gesture, as a declaration of rights and duties. In great Acts of Parliament it sometimes happens that the crucial clauses and those which are most debated have less ultimate effect than clauses which on the surface are of little account. Thus the provisional and contingent sections of the Act dealing with day continuation schools have been inoperative for the most part; while the second clause of the Act, requiring L.E.A.'s to 'provide practical instruction suitable to the ages, abilities and requirements of the children', and 'to organise... courses of advanced instruction for the older and more intelligent children', has had as a result, and that not indirectly, the reorganisation now in progress.

The expectations of progress after the War, which had

been cherished as it drew to an end, were not fully realised in other spheres of national life besides education. When the period of financial depression set in, it became evident that we were not ready for the day continuation school, or really persuaded of its value. But the trend towards a longer school life continued unchecked and indeed was reinforced by the growing conviction that the adolescent population needed attention. Amid general approval, Mr Fisher had included in his Bill the long overdue reforms in the law of school attendance, abolishing half-time and other exemptions and compelling attendance up to the end of the term in which the child reaches fourteen. The Labour Party, in office for a time in 1924, which never cordially liked the continuation school policy of Mr Fisher, began to talk of raising the school age to fifteen universally. Mr Fisher's Act had in fact empowered L.E.A.'s to raise the age to fifteen in their own areas, but only two or three had used the power. In 1924 the question was remitted to the Consultative Committee, who were asked to report upon 'the organisation, objective and curriculum of courses of study suitable for children who will remain in full-time attendance at schools, other than secondary schools, up to the age of fifteen'. The question was far more ripe for discussion and decisive action than in 1905. L.E.A.'s which in various ways had attempted to carry out their duties as to advanced instruction wanted a lead. It was felt that in too many cases the older children in the ordinary elementary schools were marking time and that schooling merely ceased instead of reaching a well-understood end. The Consultative Committee, under Sir Henry Hadow, rose to the occasion and issued in 1926 a Report on 'The Education of the Adolescent'. This was followed in 1931 by one on 'The Primary School' and by another in 1933 on 'Infant and Nursery Schools'. The three are now usually known as the Hadow Reports.

## iii

The kernel of the Hadow Reports lies in the advocacy of a 'clean cut' in education between the ages of eleven and twelve—to use the convenient and accepted phrase, at eleven plus. The Committee were led to the principle chiefly by evidence which showed that teachers and administrators had already reached it as a result of practical experience; scholarship schemes and free admissions to secondary and central schools were almost universally based on it. In the second Report the Committee were at considerable pains to justify the conception of a 'primary' stage of development in children ending about eleven plus by quoting in detail the considered judgments of modern physiologists and psychologists. They urged that the break which was found convenient and efficacious for scholarship children should be applied to all children in public elementary schools. A fresh start is needed for every one at eleven plus. Up to that age education is to be considered as primary; beyond eleven plus it is secondary or at least post-primary. This is to be true for the ordinary child and not for those only who succeed in a competitive test, for the less intelligent equally with the more intelligent. If the principle is accepted, it amounts to much more than an instruction to managers and teachers to adopt a fresh outlook for children above eleven. It involves also a reorganisation of the traditional English elementary school, and the Hadow Reports boldly face the problem.

They suggest three main types of post-primary education, the Selective Central School, the Non-selective Central School and the Senior School. The Central School types are preferred by the Committee, but the third, it is recognised, may be necessary where material obstacles to the first two are too stubborn to be overcome. The names partly explain themselves. Where conditions are favourable, a selective central

school, entrance to which is gained by a competitive examination, is a type of organisation with most promise because the successful candidates will be of such proved intelligence that a very definite course of future study can be safely laid out for them; it may be directed broadly towards industry or towards commerce, or it may include both kinds of instruction. A selective school will ordinarily be fed from many contributory schools and in the nature of things will not usually be 'end-on' to any particular junior primary school. Such a method of selection leaves behind all those who fail in the competition, and for them a non-selective central school is suggested, a school which will take all and sundry who are eleven plus, again normally receiving pupils from several schools, and thus being 'central'. A non-selective school will have to be organised so as to deal with both the abler and the duller of its pupils. It may happen in a particular locality that there is no selective central school into which cleverer children are creamed off, and that all varieties will be sent to a non-selective school; and it is by no means to be assumed that a non-selective school has inferior material to handle. The senior school is a name suggested for the upper department of a large elementary school which remains self-contained, usually neither contributing to a central school nor receiving contingents from primary schools not in the same building. It is a species of non-selective school, end-on to a primary school, and possibly under the same head teacher. Superficially it seems to be the traditional school with standards unchanged. But in it, as in both selective and non-selective central schools, the Report urges that (after a real break at eleven plus) there should be a fresh organisation and a fresh conception of the curriculum of the older children planned to cover three if not four years. It is obvious that, if the slower children are no longer to be in the primary school but are to join their equals in age in the senior or central school,

the old practice of standard promotion, with laggards left behind, must be discarded. A reorganisation of teaching is as essential as a reorganisation of schools, and the Consultative Committee explain in some detail what form the new outlook must assume.

The principles just described have been adopted as a definite policy by the Board of Education and the L.E.A.'s, and by now considerable progress has been made in carrying them out. The difficulties are not to be underestimated. The existing schools for older children, built for the most part to accommodate children from about seven to thirteen or fourteen, rarely lend themselves to an easy subdivision into blocks or suites of rooms for two departments, a primary and a senior department. Nor is it always easy to pool the children of neighbouring schools so that juniors go to one or more, and another becomes a central school, though this has been frequently done. New schools may be and very often are planned to meet the new organisation. All varieties of organisation may be observed in different localities: selective central schools alongside of non-selective and senior schools; non-selective alone with here and there a senior department; several schools 'decapitated' to feed one large central or senior school; a simple pooling arrangement between two schools adjoining; in rural areas, one conveniently placed school treated as central, usually non-selective, with a number of small village schools feeding it; sometimes an entirely new central school for a wide rural area, to and from which children are conveyed by omnibus or ride on cycles.

As might be expected, the dual system of voluntary and council schools prevents an easy paper solution of the problem in many areas. It is partially settled in places either by the choice of one church or Roman Catholic school to serve as a central school for others of the same persuasion; or, in a gratifying number of instances, by a combination of church

and council schools into one organisation; in this case special provision is made for religious instruction for Church of England children transferred to a council school, while an agreed syllabus of religious teaching is used in both. The Roman Catholics decline to join in this arrangement and seek to have central schools of their own, where possible, under their own complete control. The high authorities of the Church of England have shown a generous spirit of co-operation with the L.E.A.'s, and the relations between church and council schools are in marked contrast with the relations before 1902 under most of the school boards.

## iv

The Hadow Report of 1926 contained a recommendation, as a corollary to their main recommendations, that the age and compulsory attendance at school should be raised to fifteen. The Board of Education could not make this a part of their new policy, for it would require legislation. The proposal to extend compulsory attendance had been often put forward by 'advanced' thinkers and had the general support of the Labour Party before it was endorsed by the Consultative Committee. Apart from the desire to prolong education on theoretical grounds, the idea chimed in with the growing feeling that adolescence needs further control and with the views of social reformers who wish to postpone the entry of young wage-earners into industry in the interests of the adult worker. The practical difficulties lay in the increased cost of elementary education and in the alleged impossibility in many districts to find room for a whole age-range of children in the schools. The Labour Government of 1929 prepared to overcome a further obstacle in the supply of teachers by urging the training colleges to take in larger numbers and the Minister of Education, Sir Chas. Trevelyan, brought forward

in 1929 a Bill to raise the age, coupling with it maintenance allowances to children over fourteen. It was at once obvious that the Bill would impose a burden upon managers of voluntary schools, for very many schools had no room for a new class, and proposals for reorganisation added to the complexity of the situation. The government were prepared to authorise L.E.A.'s to contribute 75 per cent. of the cost of reconditioning voluntary schools, provided that the appointment of teachers, subject to certain reservations regarding religious instruction, rested with the L.E.A.'s. This raised afresh the old question of building grants for non-provided schools, a question looked upon as settled in 1870; and there were the makings of a controversy recalling the struggles of 1870 and 1902. The issues were fairly clear: on the one hand the supporters of voluntary schools, especially the Roman Catholics, claimed that as an integral part of the national system, fully recognised for fifty years as indispensable, they were entitled to help in building besides the maintenance granted in 1902; on the other, their opponents stood by the principle of full public control over institutions now maintained and in future, if the Bill passed, to be built almost entirely by public moneys, and public control meant among other things the choice of teachers. Sir Chas. Trevelyan entered upon discussions with the representatives of the Church of England, the Roman Catholic and the Free Churches to see if a working agreement could be reached. He failed to achieve a concordat, both sides remaining inflexible on control. Different Bills, with and without the controversial clauses, but with the extension of the age of compulsion, were introduced in 1930 and 1931. Finally in the spring of 1931 Roman Catholic members of his own party voted against the President and he resigned. The financial crisis in the late summer of 1931 and the subsequent political changes have postponed the raising of the school age for an indefinite

period. It may be remarked that the controversy, so far as it concerned building subsidies and control, did not reach the dimensions of a public dispute because the negotiations were conducted in private and came to an end when the President resigned: the atmosphere of acrimony which accompanied earlier discussions appears to have been noticeably absent.

## v

There are some subsidiary but important points to be noticed in the Hadow Reports and the developments arising out of them. The Committee suggested a new nomenclature for schools above the primary: the schools that are officially 'secondary' should be called Grammar Schools, the central and other elementary schools should be known as Modern Schools. So far the suggestion has received neither official nor popular sanction. The two terms are still appropriated by individual schools nearly all older than the present century.

Secondary education was expressly excluded from the terms of reference to the Consultative Committee, but they could not escape the consideration of the pertinent question: How is post-primary education in central and senior schools to be distinguished, if at all, from secondary education? The question is indirectly answered by the detailed discussion of the curriculum proposed for post-primary schools and by the large section of the Report in which the scope and treatment of suitable subjects are analysed and fully treated. A set uniform course is not only undesirable but impossible of achievement. Experiment is urged and two dangers are to be avoided. One is an unintelligent copying of the ordinary academic secondary school programme, the other is a re-imposition of the routine standard syllabuses from which the older elementary school had not shaken itself wholly free.

The post-primary school is expected to show a new way, to develop primary education for two years and to have a 'bias' in the third and fourth year, usually towards commerce or industry, the whole to be realistic in the best sense, with a living connection with the needs of the community. The call for independence and individuality is apparently contradicted by a further specific recommendation, required it is true by the terms of the reference, that the schools should be tested by a kind of leaving examination conducted by regional boards. This recommendation by general consent has been entirely disregarded.

The Hadow Reports and the reorganisation that has followed their acceptance by the Board and the L.E.A.'s constitute the most remarkable development since the L.E.A.'s whole-heartedly began the enterprise of providing secondary schools. Their ultimate bearing on secondary education and on Further Education cannot at present be estimated. The general position is to be further examined by the Consultative Committee, now under the chairmanship of Mr W. Spens since the retirement of Sir Henry Hadow. The terms of reference require the Committee 'to consider and report upon the organisation and interrelation of schools, other than those administered under the Elementary Code, which provide education for pupils beyond the age of eleven plus; regard being had in particular to the framework and content of the education of pupils who do not remain at school beyond the age of about sixteen'. The reference formally excludes all elementary schools, whether primary or post-primary: the Hadow Reports have dealt exhaustively with these. It appears to embrace secondary schools up to the stage when the First School Examination is taken and various schools, full-time and part-time, which come under the head of Further Education. They are all post-primary in the full sense of the term. They have come into existence, as

the following two chapters will show, in response to different needs and they cover the period of adolescence, to which the attention of the nation is increasingly drawn. The Committee may be expected to suggest at least how some of the problems they present may be solved.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE SECONDARY SCHOOL

It is comparatively easy to explain what an English elementary school is and how it came to reach its present status in the educational system, to show how it differs from or resembles the corresponding schools in other countries. Its bounds are determined in part by legislation but mostly by administration, and its general aims are understood. Yet an attentive reader of the previous chapter may wonder whether the recent developments of the elementary school do not cover some of the ground hitherto loosely called secondary and may press for a definition of secondary education and of a secondary school. He will get no nearer than that a secondary school is one which is officially recognised by the Board of Education as such. The schools so recognised are very various in origin and government. They include the great Public Schools and most of the Endowed and Grammar Schools, founded by pious benefactors in the distant past or in modern times; also the new municipal or county schools established by the L.E.A.'s in the present century; also schools usually known as private schools, whether corporately owned or the property of individuals. It will be the business of the present chapter to show what are the common characteristics of these different types which make them eligible for official recognition, and so to arrive, if not at a precise definition, at an understanding of what in England and Wales is meant by a secondary school. The most convenient way to proceed will be to relate the history of the establishment of the state-aided schools which constitute the public secondary school system, leaving the consideration of schools which are independent of the public system to a subsequent chapter.

## i

The 'recent history' of secondary education in England, though not in Wales, begins with the Royal Commission on Secondary Education appointed in 1894, under the chairmanship of Mr James Bryce. The Report of the Commission appeared in 1895, and it must be regarded as a landmark in English educational history. The conditions in the country which called for a public enquiry were, in the favourite language of reformers at the time, chaotic, but the temptation to describe them must be resisted. Nor is there room to discuss in detail the findings of the Commissioners. Indeed, some of the specific recommendations were either disregarded or absorbed in proposals and legislation of a wider scope than the Commission was entitled to consider. But two principal recommendations had far-reaching results. The Bryce Report urged that a real Central Authority for education should be formed, and in 1899 the Board of Education Act was passed establishing the Board as we know it. The Report further pressed for a Local Authority for Secondary Education, with rate-aid, and this was carried out in principle, though not in the actual form suggested, in the Education Act of 1902. Without these two primary reforms a coherent educational system would have been impossible.

The Commission was instructed 'to consider what are the best methods of establishing a well-organised system of Secondary Education'. There was no definition of secondary education in the terms of reference; advisedly, for there was no field clearly delimited to which the term might without challenge apply. Not that there was acute controversy, but the instructed public, including eager advocates of a regular organisation of secondary education, were content with a vague understanding that somewhere in the region between the elementary school and the university lay secondary

education, clearly superior to the former and clearly not to be included in the latter, but not so clearly distinguishable from higher elementary education or from education of a specifically technical character. In France *l'enseignement secondaire* is differentiated from *l'instruction primaire* in a marked way; in Germany, before the War, the class distinction, if not crystallised in a general term, was equally manifest. In England and Wales there is still no accepted agreement on what 'secondary' really connotes.

The Commission interpreted their reference liberally, and in consonance with public expectation. They acknowledged that technical education was logically to be considered as essentially secondary, that is, as beyond the elementary or primary, but they set it aside as outside their immediate business. But they examined with great care and with no narrow outlook the very miscellaneous types of schools, from the oldest Public School to the newest Higher Grade School, Pupil Teacher Centre or Organised Science School, that had arisen during the previous twenty-five years. No formal definition was reached, and yet they laid down the lines adopted by the Board of Education a few years later (1904) on which schools could be officially recognised as secondary schools. The education was to be general, as opposed not only to technical education but also to the orientation of schools towards a premature specialisation in the supposed interests of business and commerce. It was to be literary and linguistic as well as scientific and mathematical, and not either narrowly classical or confined only to science as understood by the Science and Art Department. Thus it was able to embrace both the Public Schools, in which by this time science had already found a place, and the Higher Grade and Organised Science Schools, many of which needed to have their courses of teaching broadened.

The Commission very carefully examined the question of

age. Here they cautiously followed the principles of the earlier Commission of 1864–7, the Taunton Commission, which had distinguished three grades of schools according to the length of stay. Schools of the first grade kept boys up to eighteen who generally had professions in view: schools of the second ended at about sixteen and schools of the third at fourteen: it is to be noted that in the 'sixties the elementary school rarely kept children beyond twelve at the latest. That this was too absolute a division was fully recognised by the Bryce Commissioners of 1894, for among other things the age boundaries had already shifted. The third grade was hardly to be separated from the elementary school, where in theory education was by now continued up to fourteen. Attention was thus focused mainly on the range of age covered by the older second-grade school, and both in the recommendations of the Commission and in the action of the Board of Education it is evident that secondary education was to be regarded as education suitable for boys and girls prepared to stay at school till sixteen at least and beyond. What needed organising was the supply of education especially up to sixteen and the co-ordinating of all the various agencies through which some such education was already attempted. Education of the first grade was on the whole not inadequate, save here and there: education of the second grade was both sporadic and insufficient.

As has been said, the wide definition of secondary education was accepted by the Board of Education and, reduced to regulations for the sake of orderly administration, has been acted upon for about thirty years. Nevertheless we are no nearer an accepted and an unassailable definition than in 1894. For one thing, the age limits have once more become confused; elementary education, ending at twelve or under in 1867, and ending at fourteen or under in 1895, now reaches forward up to sixteen in the central schools, as we have shown in the

previous chapter. The new municipal and county secondary schools do not now finish somewhat summarily at sixteen, but through Advanced Courses continue for many pupils to eighteen and connect with the universities. The division into three separable grades has gone. Moreover, the Labour Party have adopted a policy of 'secondary education for all' and claim that what we have called higher primary education is really secondary. In fact the Hadow Reports foreshadow a new dividing line, between primary education up to eleven plus and education beyond eleven plus, whether called secondary or not. This unfortunate word is subject to further ill-treatment. As the new rate-aided schools have grown into a position in which they can compete with the old Endowed schools, e.g. for university scholarships, a fashion is creeping in of distinguishing them deprecatingly as secondary schools in contrast with the loftier Public or Endowed schools to which no specific term is assigned. Those who teach in many private schools are in two minds: some would claim that however young their pupils are, the education they receive is secondary, and not to be confused with elementary or primary; others that the schools are not secondary because they are outside the state system. We are not called upon to decide what is or what should be called secondary education, but to describe the development of secondary education since it obtained a firm official footing.

The Act of 1902 did not specifically mention secondary schools as such, or indeed secondary education under that name. Nor have any subsequent Acts of Parliament mentioned secondary schools save in one passing reference. The new Part II L.E.A.'s, described in the second chapter above, had certain duties prescribed: 'they shall take...steps to

supply or aid in the supply of education other than elementary'; they shall also 'promote the general co-ordination of all forms of education'. Wide though this language is, there was no doubt of its import. That part of education other than elementary which could properly be called technical was already more or less organised by the Technical Instruction Committees which had been at work for over ten years. It needed expanding, no doubt, and further co-ordinating, but the general lines of advance were already laid down. It was the rest of education other than elementary for which a definite policy was required. The L.E.A.'s, which were generally eager to begin to satisfy the public demand for some kind of secondary education, must know under what conditions schools would be officially recognised as secondary, and what Parliamentary grants would be available.

The Board had already since 1900 been inspecting secondary schools 'with their consent', for the Board of Education Act anticipated the Act of 1902 by assigning the Board this power. A special staff of inspectors for secondary schools was now constituted and a special Branch of the Board to deal with secondary education was established, to take rank besides the Branches for elementary and technical education.

The first Regulations for Secondary Schools were issued in 1904. They set forth what was to be the kind of school to which the Board would give grants. A secondary school is one 'which offers to its scholars a general education of a wider scope and higher grade than that of an elementary school, given through a complete progressive course of instruction continuing up to and beyond the age of sixteen'. Such a school must provide 'at least a full four-year course in a group of subjects so selected as to ensure due breadth and solidity in the education given'. The subjects are English language and literature, with geography and history, a language other than English, mathematics and science, both theoretical

and practical, and drawing. There should be some provision for manual work and physical exercises, with housewifery for girls. The Board are here clearly following the lines suggested in the Report of the Bryce Commission. These Regulations are of the utmost importance in any account of the present English educational system, for they have been the basis of the Board's policy and the principle behind the activities of the L.E.A.'s during the present century. They remain unmodified. A secondary school must assume that its pupils stay till sixteen at least and must provide an organised course lasting four years. The course must be a course of *general* education not of specialised education. Such a general education must be balanced, with no undue predominance of literary and of scientific subjects. It must include a language besides English, and English is an essential constituent.

This definition of a secondary school is artificial in the sense that it is an administrative definition of such schools as, under suitable circumstances, can participate in the Parliamentary grants voted for the purpose. It is not an educational definition, arrived at by a consideration of educational principles except indirectly. Administratively it may have to be revised, if the recently organised post-primary schools develop. At present, if logically assailable, it is practically workable, and, more than this, its limitations do not interfere with the natural growth of schools which stand outside it.

In their Annual Report for 1908–9, which contains a useful review of the work of the Board since 1903, the Board are solicitous to explain that while they adhere to the main principles of the Regulations, they wish them to be interpreted in an elastic sense and not to be understood as imposing a rigid uniformity. The practice of the Board was indeed conceived in this spirit. It would have been possible to refuse recognition to all but the best schools, on the plea

that it was better to have a few very good secondary schools than many which had not yet reached a high standard, and to discourage L.E.A.'s from building or taking over schools unless they could conform to a high standard. Remembering the later history of the schools and the steady development of the public demand for higher education, an observer will conclude that the Board judged accurately what was required in the national interest. They accepted schools which 'offered' a general education to all their scholars, even if few at the time took full advantage of the offer. Classical schools in which science was taught were eligible for recognition and the organised science schools, if they added a language and broadened their curriculum generally. Certain higher grade schools which were clearly more than elementary schools ending at fourteen were accepted. Numerous pupil teacher centres formerly conducted by school boards, expenditure on which had been the origin of Mr Cockerton's censure, formed the nucleus of a secondary school when pupils other than intending teachers were admitted.

The result of these early steps in the administration of the Act of 1902 was to bring a highly desirable clearness and definiteness into the hitherto confused sphere of secondary education. A standard was set up to which schools on the border line should conform and which should act as a guide to L.E.A.'s in planning new schools. Many schools of the indeterminate higher grade type were not acknowledged as secondary schools: the school life in them after the age of fourteen was too short and with no prospect of extension: or they were in elementary school premises with a huge elementary school inextricably bound to them: or the instruction in them in spite of the teaching of French or Science was still very elementary. Some teachers and managers were aggrieved no doubt, and the occasionally ruthless refusal to acknowledge well-meant efforts towards a superior education appeared

to regard as unimportant the problem of extended elementary as distinct from definitely secondary education. But at this stage precision was essential: a secondary school must embrace a four-year course, must have small classes and large staffs, must enjoy amenities unrealisable in elementary schools, could not be merely an institution end-on to the elementary school, beginning where the latter left off at thirteen or so. If the effect was to cause some jealousy and some fears that the new schools were to be as remote from the people's schools as in many places the older Endowed schools had been, this was soon mitigated. It was obvious that no class distinction between types of teachers was intended, for many of the newly recognised secondary schools, the best higher grade schools and those founded on pupil teacher centres for example, were staffed entirely by teachers trained for elementary schools, who proved their competence. The new schools also offered a decided spur to ambition both for scholars who wished to advance and for teachers anxious for promotion. The scholarship systems became administratively more easy when there were two separate grades of schools, and, as one of the first enterprises of the L.E.A.'s was to regularise and extend the existing scholarship schemes, a wider pathway was at once opened for the children in elementary schools, before the Free Place principle was introduced in 1907.

Among the schools recognised at once as secondary were the Welsh Intermediate Schools. These were not intermediate in the sense frequently given to the word, that is, in scope lying between the elementary school and the public or grammar school, a sort of middle school: they were intended to be a link between elementary school and university college and in fact, have very largely supplied students to the university colleges of Wales. From the point of view of popular education they were in advance of the English schools of the time. The Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889,

which made them possible, created education committees on which county borough councils were represented, and authorised a small expenditure from the rates on the schools, years before the Education Act of 1902. Seeing that older secondary schools were relatively few in Wales, the new schools, rapidly created, filled a want which had become acutely felt.

## iii

The history of the state-aided system of secondary schools since 1902 is not one of successive and well-marked phases, signalised by introductory official decisions or regulations, so much as one of steady endeavour to realise the conception of secondary education which the Board set up at the beginning. The two occasions on which that conception was amplified, namely the introduction of the Free Place system and the specific encouragement of Advanced Courses may be looked upon as natural developments rather than as violent changes. Important as they are, they give no clue to the numerous and pressing problems which faced the Board and the L.E.A.'s thirty years ago, and which still in some degree are urgent. It will conduce to clearness to deal with the latter general problems first.

Finance was by no means straightforward in the early years. The L.E.A.'s could raise no more than a *2d.* rate without special application to the Board and that for all purposes of higher education. Though progressive authorities had little difficulty in securing the approval of the Board to an increase, their own ratepayers were not yet accustomed to the new charges. Consequently even the best L.E.A.'s found themselves in difficulties. They wished to provide schools with low fees, schools which were imperatively needed, but low fees together with the government grant by no means met the necessary expenditure on secondary schools. In

particular, the new schools demanded staffs on a scale more liberal than those in elementary schools, with teachers of higher qualifications and proportionately larger salaries. It was notorious from the evidence laid before the Bryce Commission and available elsewhere that secondary school teachers were ill paid and in many cases ill qualified, and the Board had to press for improvement and in places for higher fees to justify it. The higher grade board schools now promoted to be secondary could no longer be free or nearly free and new schools, even if planned to satisfy a population which required a middle school type of education, had to impose an adequate fee. After 1907 the Board eased the situation to some extent by the increased grant to meet the expenditure on Free Places, but the financial pressure did not substantially lessen until 1919 when the Deficiency Grant, described in an earlier chapter, was instituted, about the time that the Burnham scales placed the salaries of teachers on a more satisfactory basis.

At the same time the state-aided schools grew in number with remarkable rapidity. In the first years the bulk of them were the old Endowed schools which retained their independence but gladly accepted the *per capita* exchequer grants or lump sums from L.E.A.'s or both: some of them had previously received partial grants from the Science and Art Department but this source of income though useful, was inadequate. These schools had no difficulty in fulfilling conditions such as those of representation which L.E.A.'s might impose. Very many were thus saved from the utter extinction that was threatening them. In 1914 they constituted just over one half of the schools aided from public funds and in 1932, as new L.E.A. schools have grown, the proportion was about five to eight, though in the meantime this type of school, the non-L.E.A. secondary school which is still an integral part of the public secondary system, has nearly doubled in

numbers. In process of time entirely new L.E.A. schools were planned and built and L.E.A. schools old and new now form the majority of state schools. But they have neither extinguished nor made useless the non-L.E.A. schools, and the secondary system, like the elementary system, is a fortunate combination of voluntary and council schools. It is also to be remarked that aided, as distinct from provided schools, include a number of convent schools, which found themselves able to accept the conditions as to representation on their governing bodies and as to religious instruction which the Board felt bound to lay down.

The problems of organisation within the schools themselves were no less perplexing than those of finance. The Board aimed at securing at least a four-year course between the ages of eleven and seventeen and expected that pupils should stay at school at least till sixteen. It appeared, however, that in many of the recognised schools these aims were far from being achieved, and the attention of the Board was directed for some time towards securing as the first improvement a lengthening of the school life within the secondary schools. The average leaving age in grant-earning schools even in 1908-9, when the entirely new schools had been active for some years, was still under sixteen; and it is to be remembered that the average is obtained by reckoning not only many grammar schools with an established tradition of relatively full senior forms, but also the schools which included many intending teachers who were bound to stay till seventeen under the newer Pupil Teacher Regulations of 1907. But worse than this: at the same date the average duration of school life within the four-year course was not yet three years. In fact, a new habit and a new conception of the real scope of a secondary education had to be created in the classes which the secondary schools were intended to serve. There were many causes why progress had been slow.

The business world had not yet begun to expect a secondary education as a qualification for employment, as has been done to a greater extent since the War. Parents were apt to look upon the schools as finishing schools, to add a polish to an education presumed to be complete already. But the main reason for the shortness of the time spent within the four-year course was the late age at entry. It was still taken for granted that the secondary school was so much a simple continuation of elementary work that the age of transition from one kind of school to another was a matter of indifference. Teachers in other schools were naturally reluctant to let their pupils go. The defect was combated in various ways, besides argument and official pressure. The schemes for scholarships included a definite age of entry and enlightened L.E.A.'s gave preference to candidates of twelve or below. When Free Places came in, it was possible to lay down conditions of admission with some firmness. Some L.E.A.'s required an undertaking from the parent to keep the pupil at school for at least three years. In spite of pleas of 'late development', the conviction gradually grew that a child entering a secondary school at fourteen certainly could not obtain the greatest benefit from a course which ought to be an organic course of four years, and that a child of thirteen could only rarely make up for what was really lost time. The standardisation of the school examinations, to be described below, helped by spreading the idea that the First Schools Examination was the *terminus ad quem* the normal secondary school should anyhow aim: and the age for this examination was ordinarily sixteen and a half or seventeen and a half. Finally, after the War, eleven plus became accepted as the age of entry to secondary schools, and the Hadow Reports of 1926 and 1930 found the public of parents and administrators ready to accept a 'clean cut' at eleven plus. The latest statistics still show a certain number of first admissions to a secondary

course above the age of twelve from schools lower in status than secondary schools, but not principally from elementary schools. They show also a slow increase of the average age of leaving. The standardisation of the secondary course, and especially its close connection with examinations, has not escaped criticism: these will be considered later. Also it is to be noticed that in the roughly parallel system of Public and Preparatory Schools, the age of transfer as determined by the Common Entrance Examination, is round about thirteen. This point is considered in a later chapter. In the state system, the practice of entry at eleven plus seems to be fairly established.

## iv

The two most significant changes in the Regulations affecting secondary schools were the introduction of the Free Place System in 1907, so often alluded to above, and the provision for Advanced Courses in 1917. The Free Place policy, though political motives may have been behind it, was no rash interference and no ill-considered move to popularise the secondary schools. It was accompanied by a much needed revision of the basis on which grants had been paid, and by certain requirements in the management of aided schools which removed the suspicion that public moneys were being paid to schools without any public representation on the governing bodies. The state-aided secondary schools were now public secondary schools, in respect of government and in respect of religious instruction, in the same position, *mutatis mutandis*, as the provided public elementary schools. It was now laid down that 25 per cent. of admissions in a single year must be reserved for pupils who had spent at least two years in an elementary school and that these pupils should be free from paying fees while they stayed in the secondary schools. Schools which could not comply with the requirement re-

ceived grants on a lower scale (£2. 10s. per pupil) instead of grants at £5 per pupil. The term Free Places was generalised to include all scholarships, bursaries and the like which carried with them the remission of fees, with the stipulation that 25 per cent. of the pupils admitted free should be ex-elementary scholars. An upward limit of 40 per cent. was assigned to fee-charging schools, and the percentage in both calculations was based on the admissions of all kinds in the previous year; the Labour Government of 1929 raised the upper limit to 50 per cent.

Thus the various scholarship schemes were in some degree consolidated, and were certainly in effect greatly enlarged. From the point of view of, say, 1880, this would have seemed almost a revolutionary measure. But already in 1907 rather more than half of the pupils in state-aided schools were in fact former elementary scholars, the fee payers and the scholarship holders among them being nearly equal in numbers. So far had the popular demand for higher education, upon which we have elsewhere laid stress, proved itself to be genuine, and widespread. In the northern industrial areas considerably more than half of the pupils in secondary schools had been pupils in elementary schools, a fact which indicates among other things that the elementary school had grown out of the stage when it was the school of the very poor. The new regulation bore more hardly upon aided schools in some areas where the local grammar school was mainly fed by pupils who had not passed through the elementary schools. In extreme cases the percentage was permitted to be less than 25 per cent. In these quarters particularly there was some natural alarm at the influx of elementary pupils, on account of their supposed unpreparedness, with the fear that they would leave early, and would not fit in with the social atmosphere of the schools. The L.E.A.'s showed themselves sympathetic where schools stood to lose financially because

the increased grants did not balance the loss of fees. But the system soon became established. The Free Placers justified themselves. They were found to be equal to and often better than the fee payers in attainments and ability. They stayed longer at school. They readily fell in with the changes which have been made in the discipline and the social life of the schools. Further they supply no small proportion of the pupils from state-aided schools who have gone forward to the universities and won academic distinctions.

The policy just described was abandoned, in its original form at least, by the National Government in 1932. In the autumn of that year the Board of Education issued a famous Circular, No. 1421, in which they announced that in the interests of public economy Free Places as such in secondary schools receiving Parliamentary grant should cease to exist. It was to be assumed that all pupils should pay fees in the absence of good reasons to the contrary. The Board tried to mitigate the bad impression that the sudden change of policy would naturally create by announcing that L.E.A.'s were as free as before to offer *Special Places* to the same extent as or even to a greater extent than Free Places had been hitherto offered. But from this time a parent who accepted a Special Place for his child in a secondary school must pay for it according to his means. L.E.A.'s were invited to assign a scale of fees to be paid according to the annual income of the parent. Under such a scale the very poor parent would pay nothing, the well-to-do parent of a Special Place winner would pay the full fee and others would contribute according to their finances. It was tentatively suggested that £3 to £4 a week was the upper limit beyond which some payment was to be expected; and further that L.E.A.'s and Governing Bodies should raise the fees of all pupils up to 15 guineas, as a rule, and that the Board would be unwilling to approve even a fee of less than 9 guineas. The two main arguments used by the Board were

that many pupils winning Free Places under the current conditions of competition came from homes which could well afford the fees; and that in any case the full fee bore a small proportion (about a half when the fee was 15 guineas) of the cost of secondary education on public funds.

This proposal was very unfavourably received at first in educational circles. It was alleged that the immediate result would be that a very deserving class of children now accustomed to seeking admission into secondary schools would be almost automatically excluded from them by what was not improperly called a 'means test': namely those from families on the border-line, families with ambitions and prepared to make some sacrifice but not able to stand the strain of a terminal or weekly contribution. It was feared also that the discouragement which would accompany a means test would in effect deprive many of the children certainly capable of profiting by secondary education of the chances they have had since 1907. The Board in a second circular (No. 1424) and the President in the House of Lords were at pains to make it clear that the principle that no deserving child shall be prevented by the imposition of fees from profiting as before by Special Places was still to be maintained, and that L.E.A.'s and Governing Bodies were not being dragooned into a uniform rate of scales without reference to local conditions.

At the time of writing the worst fears of the critics seem not to have been realised. The L.E.A.'s have taken the matter calmly, and, relying on their local knowledge and experience, as well as being secure in the position they enjoy in relation to the Board, are administering the new regulations as seems best for their areas. They use an elastic means test which is not necessarily that of circular No. 1421, collecting fees at a reasonable rate, not universally up to £15 or even always up to 9 guineas a year.

## v

The next important step in the development of state secondary schools was taken in 1917, when Advanced Courses were officially stimulated. By this time the four-year course was so firmly established that it became a problem what to do with the now numerous body of pupils who had completed it and wished to stay longer at school. The larger aided schools had long included regular Sixth Forms: and the smaller aided along with the newer Council Schools were also 'growing at the top'. The difficulty was mainly one of expense. A reasonably staffed school would not have one teacher, or the equivalent of one teacher free among the number of specialists, for a small group pursuing studies beyond the First Schools Examination. The Board accordingly offered a special grant of £400 if an Advanced Course was organised and approved. This was not to be a course of general subjects but one of the following: science and mathematics, classics, modern studies: to these were added later the language and literature of Greece or Rome (with some modern history) and geography (with science or history). The idea behind this allocation of subject groups was both to encourage specialisation and to keep the specialisation broad and not narrowly restricted to one subject. It was, further, to check the tendency for small upper forms to consist of individual pupils each pursuing a different set of studies and each coached as opportunity offered. The Advanced Courses were a direct stimulus towards work with universities in view; and by the time they were instituted grant-earning schools which started or had lived under the handicaps described in the last section were beginning to look forward to the university connection so long the characteristic of the older, chiefly the Endowed, schools. It was now abundantly plain that the secondary state system was not to be a system of intermediate schools

with no ambitions beyond a solid education up to sixteen. There was no reason why the humblest of the schools, whatever its origin, and however closely linked with elementary schools, should not take rank alongside the great schools of the country in supplying universities, especially now that they were numerous, with pupils. After the War, the Government responded to the growing desire to develop secondary education by instituting State Scholarships for pupils who had done well in the Second Schools Examination and who wished to go forward to universities. These, after a short suspension during the period of economy, 1922-3, continue and statistics amply prove that by their means a large number of pupils from the very classes Matthew Arnold had in mind, including the working classes, were passed on to universities, where again they have justified their selection and the aid they have received by successes and distinctions and by their subsequent careers. It must be remembered that there have always been means by which poor boys could get to universities, but the path was narrow and those who could use it were a fortunate few; now there is a wider road, not quite a highway along which all may pass, but at any rate an undisputed thoroughfare.

Reference has been made in the foregoing sections to the First and Second Schools Examinations. The present official Regulations concerning these were first issued in 1918. The Board require that no external examinations be taken by pupils in grant-earning schools during the four-year course and that the examinations at the end of the course must be one conducted by an approved agency. Eight examining bodies are approved for this purpose, all of them connected with Universities. The Second Schools Examination is to be entered usually two years after the First, and forms a natural finish to an Advanced Course; the same examining bodies are approved for this purpose. A general equality in the con-

ditions of entry and in the requirements for a certificate is secured by the whole being under the supervision of a Secondary Schools Examinations Council, an advisory body which, mainly representative of universities and schools, recommends and reports to the Board but has no power to issue directions. The same body with the co-operation of the Board, arranges for periodical investigations, in order to secure adequacy and evenness of standard, both in the type of questions set and in the marking of them.

Thus barely described the scheme has the appearance of stereotyping the teaching in grant-earning secondary schools, analogous, if at some considerable distance, to the old Code examinations of elementary schools. It does indeed come under much criticism as trenching on the freedom of the teachers and as laying down too uniform a procedure for schools which vary in situation and in history. For although there is a wide choice of subjects and no two examining bodies have precisely the same syllabuses in detail, and although certain compensations are allowed whereby weakness in one subject may be counterbalanced by strength in others, some general conditions must be observed if a certificate of success is to be won: there must be a language other than English, and some mathematics or science; a pass requires a reasonable proficiency in three main groups, each of which includes several subjects from which choice can be made. The fourth group containing music, arts and crafts is not one of the essential groups. These conditions are said to bear hardly on a worthy type of pupil who is good in one or more of the fourth group subjects but is lamentably weak in a second language or in mathematics or science, the pupil whose interests are practical and not academic.

Whatever be the effects of the ordinance at the present time, the Board felt themselves fully justified in taking action when it was issued. Prolonged deliberations and discussions,

including a reference to the Consultative Committee, preceded it. It was necessary in order to carry out the original and unchanged conception of what a publicly aided secondary school should provide: an organised and coherent course of study directed to a definite objective. In fact the schools were found to have too many objectives in the third and fourth years, because of the multiplicity and diversity of the external examinations their pupils were tempted or were obliged to take. Not only were the University 'Locals' open to them but London Matriculation, and the examinations of the College of Preceptors, the oldest of school examinations; also a great variety of examinations required by numerous professional bodies, as preliminary to the courses of study organised by the professions. The Board set a good example by forbidding secondary school pupils to enter for their own Preliminary Examination for the Certificate, which had been for many years under a different name the main examination for entry into training colleges and for recognition as an assistant teacher; the Board now expected the intending teacher, when a pupil in a secondary school, to enter the training college by way of the First Schools Examination. Professional bodies gradually dropped their own special tests, and though they are not bound to demand the school certificate and no other substitute, accept that, as well as certain certificates of the College of Preceptors, as evidence of general education, suitable for their purpose.

On similar grounds, that is, to consolidate still further the four-year secondary course, schools were forbidden to enter for the Junior and Preliminary Examinations of the Locals and the College of Preceptors. These intermediate tests had served a useful purpose, still welcome to many private schools, which are not under public inspection: they helped, and still help, many schools, in which the teachers prefer to lean on the support of external bodies of established repute and of

long experience. But they were held to be out of place in schools competent to construct a course which would lead to one of the recognised First Schools Examinations, without assistance from outside. Thus the criticisms levelled against the examinations turn on the alleged lack of flexibility in the test, and not so much on its desirability and value as a focus for the teaching throughout the course. Another result which was hardly expected has unfortunately followed. The various universities have accepted the Schools Examinations, under particular conditions, as exempting the holders of certificates from a further test for matriculation. This is defensible enough, but too often the desire of a few to obtain exemption from matriculation has tended to govern the choice of subjects for all entrants in a form, with the consequence that the fourth-year course is apt to be dominated entirely by the legitimate requirements of universities. This is to relinquish the advantages which the various examining bodies offer by the numerous alternative subjects in each group and to stereotype the teaching. Moreover, business houses have set or adopted the fashion of expecting the young entrants from secondary schools to have 'got their matriculation', whether they are proceeding to a university or not. The evil, so heartily criticised in many quarters, must not be exaggerated. After all, a matriculation test is not rigid and narrow, and the examination, with some definite prescriptions, includes many alternatives. It is a test of general education, definitely biased, it is true, but not specialised to an alarming extent. The truth seems to be that a 'general education' under the influence of tradition, with both learned and unlearned members of the public, still connotes a training in languages, science and mathematics; the substitution of training in practical arts and crafts has not yet won its way to universal acceptance.

The previous sections have dealt with the development of the organisation of secondary education in England and Wales and with the various problems that have had to be attacked. Secondary education does now mean something far more definite than was the case thirty years ago, and the state-aided system is well established. At the same time remarkable changes have occurred in the actual teaching and discipline of the schools. It would require a whole book to explain the changes in detail. They are partly due to movements of thought outside the schools, partly to the official action of the Board, but mostly to a growing interest in the technique of teaching and to a general consciousness among teachers in the schools that old methods needed serious revision. The changes began towards the end of last century when, for example, the Direct Method of teaching modern languages had powerful advocates, the newer conceptions of good mathematical teaching, especially of geometry, were spreading, geography took its place in a modernised shape as a substantive subject, and the heuristic method of teaching science came as a reaction from the book-learning practices of earlier times. English has become a prime subject, where once it was neglected entirely or treated mainly as a grammatical grind. The Board of Education have issued many memoranda on special points of teaching in which the inspectors found weakness and misconceptions. A body of literature on methods of teaching grew up. Four valuable Reports were issued by Governmental Committees, on Science and on Modern Languages in 1918, on Classics and on English in 1921.

Prof. Archer in his book has a chapter on The Age of the Prophets. Reviewing as he does a whole century and that a period when the English people required to be weaned from false gods and shaken out of ancient ways, he is able to single

out giants such as Spencer, Huxley, Ruskin, Thring and the Arnolds and point to their influence. If there are no such giant personalities in the years with which this book is dealing, there have been and are a number of minor prophets, men and women of character and penetration who, in their several spheres, have stimulated educational thought, experimented, challenged accepted opinion and given both light and leading. It is invidious to name living individuals, but Sanderson of Oundle and Howson of Holt may be mentioned as examples of those who flourished in these years and who have unfortunately died.

## CHAPTER VIII

### FURTHER EDUCATION

In previous chapters the place of elementary and of secondary schools in the English educational system has been described, in both cases with reference only to the official and administrative definition of the schools. There remains a third set of institutions, schools and classes, distinguished from the other two by special Regulations officially issued, and by a special Branch of the Board of Education as well as by special committees and officers in the larger L.E.A.'s. They cannot be as succinctly described as can schools, elementary or secondary. They were at first, after 1902, subsumed under the general, if rather misleading, designation of Technical (sometimes Technological) education, a title changed later to that of Further Education. In 1924 one important department of Further Education was separately treated as Adult Education, with Regulations and special grants under that name. The present and the following chapter are to deal with the many types of Further Education and, as a supplement, with Adult Education.

The work recognised as affording Further Education and aided as such is extremely varied, and covers a very wide range. It embraces at one end what is done in highly organised Technical Schools, which may have a direct contact with a university; it also includes simple evening classes for youths and girls who have just left school or classes in cookery in a village women's institute. There is also the very specific training in a Junior Technical School or Trade School by the side of a Senior Evening Institute, with literature and the arts as its main attractions. At the same time it must not be hastily assumed that Further Education is a name to cover

a mere hotch-potch of educational work which is not capable of being classified otherwise. The two names given to it, Technical and Further Education, really explain the scope of what is attempted. For in the main what is now known as Further Education is continuative or technical, in one aspect manifestly extending day school education in directions not ordinarily open to day schools, in the other furnishing those engaged in or hoping to enter industry and commerce with special training and a scientific basis for their practical activities. The two sides are not mutually exclusive. Adult Education has a different aim, seeking to provide for leisure-time study with little direct application to the needs of the working life; and some of the evening institutes have a very similar object in view.

It will conduce to clearness if we give an account of the various types of class and institution separately. Adopting the nomenclature of the Board of Education in their Regulations since 1926, but not following strictly the order in which the schools appear in them, we shall describe first the schools which are definitely post-primary, the Junior Evening Institutes, the Day Continuation Schools, the Junior Technical and Junior Housewifery Schools. Then will follow an outline sketch of technical education as it is seen in Senior Evening Institutes and in the organisations grouped round and within the great 'Colleges for Further Education'. Adult Education must be treated apart.

## i

The recent history of Further Education is of less importance to the student of present-day education than an understanding of the scope and aims of the diverse types of schools and classes which are encouraged under that name. The older history of the movements in support of further and of technical education from the mechanics institutes onwards

is indeed fascinating, among other things because of its association with the scientific movement of the nineteenth century. But it must be left aside. The salient events since 1870 may be very briefly told. Technical education began to excite attention after 1870, and it may be remarked that Matthew Arnold urged that 'your technical instruction' was as much in need of organising as 'your secondary instruction'. Several results followed. Leaders in industry and commerce secured the establishment of quite numerous technical schools, in small as well as in large towns where a kind of civic pride in them developed. Polytechnics were set up in London, and the great City Companies, through the City and Guilds of London Institute, not only founded many schools but fostered technical education in numerous other ways. Almost at once, after county councils were created in 1888, they were given powers over technical and manual instruction by an Act in 1889. Thus at a stroke technical education was recognised as a definite sphere of activity for which both Parliamentary and local grants were available, and which was to be under the control of local authorities. The precedent for the Act of 1902 is obvious. The transition from the Technical Instruction Committee or Board of a county authority to a full Education Committee was not violent, and in many cases the officers engaged by the former became the education officers of the L.E.A. education committees. Further the Technical Instruction Committees were allowed to interpret their duties very liberally and almost all kinds of education other than elementary were undertaken by the Committees or supported by grants from the Department of Science and Art, to which technical and scientific education had always been attached. The absorption of the Science and Art Department in the Board of Education in 1900 made no substantial difference to the situation before the Act of 1902 came into operation.

That Act made no specific provision for technical education

as such. It was assumed to be included in the 'education other than elementary' which the new L.E.A.'s were to supply or aid, and which they were to coordinate. For a few years they did little more than take over the work of the former committees, as well as the evening schools and the organised science schools which had been under the school boards. A great deal had been accomplished by the committees in the way of preparatory and introductory classes leading up to technical education proper in the technical schools, and some technical day classes had been started. The L.E.A.'s could continue, extend and consolidate this organisation as well as establish connections and acquire influence in the institutions devoted specifically to technology. But they were too much engrossed in the duty of filling up gaps in the elementary system and in initiating a supply of secondary schools to have time and money for embarking at once on new schemes of technical education.

During the last thirty years the principal developments and events affecting technical and further education have been these: the gradual abolition of the Government examinations in science and art which, under the old South Kensington Department, had been the principal machinery for aiding and encouraging schools and classes; the absorption of evening continuation schools in the system; the abortive attempt to set up compulsory continuation schools by Mr Fisher's Act of 1918; the recognition of Adult Education as a fruitful field of operations; and in the later years a closer linking up of technical education with the requirements of groups of industries and of commerce. These topics will naturally fall under the sections which follow. The finance of Further Education, after many changes now unnecessary to describe was settled in 1919 when the arrangements for Deficiency Grants and Direct Grants, as set out in the fourth chapter, were approved by Parliament.

The most numerous type of schools recognised as supplying Further Education are those which were long known as Evening Schools, earlier as Night Schools, then as Evening Continuation Schools and now, since 1926, as Evening Institutes. They are officially distinguished from Day Continuation Schools on the one hand, because they are held after 5 p.m., from full-time day schools of a vocational kind because they are part-time schools. They are nearly all directly provided by L.E.A.'s and are usually in premises used as day schools. The Board distinguishes between Junior and Senior Evening Institutes, the former containing classes for boys and girls under about seventeen who require instruction which is introductory to technical work proper or is of a general type extending or recapitulating elementary education. Senior Institutes will be treated in a later section. Both kinds were known as Evening Continuation Schools up to 1926.

This name was given in 1893. Odd as it may now seem, the evening schools, as distinguished from miscellaneous science and art classes, up to that date were merely elementary schools conducted in the evening, exactly like the day schools in syllabus and admitting, for grant at any rate, of no pupil over twenty-one: the pupils were instructed in standards and examined in them like the day scholars. In so far as they continued the incomplete education of their pupils they were continuative; but the aim was no more than to supply deficiencies due to slow progress up the elementary school, or to early leaving. They continued to be under the Education Department until 1900 when the administration of them passed to the Technical Branch of the new Board of Education. The evening continuation schools could then be fitted in with the organisation of the Technical Instruction

Committees, especially in counties where there were no large school boards. When the Act of 1902 became operative, the new Part II L.E.A.'s absorbed virtually all the evening continuation schools, whether they had been formerly under school boards or technical instruction committees or under private agencies; and thus the link between continuative and technical education was definitely established.

The L.E.A.'s were as generous as the most advanced school boards had been in providing cheap and even free evening continuation schools for those who entered them straight from the day schools, and as ready to set up schools in villages on the outskirts of towns so as to be easily accessible. They were also willing to provide classes to meet various tastes and requirements without forthwith creating a hierarchy of graded schools such as, it is understood, exists in Germany. After a few years, however, about 1907, it was found desirable to check the exuberance of some authorities and to introduce more order into the uncoordinated efforts of the well-intentioned promoters of evening schools. The Board of Education urged the adoption of what was called the Group Course System. Where previously students in evening continuation schools had been able from the classes provided in a large school to select subjects at will, however unrelated to each other and to any definite end, under the grouped course system they were restricted and constrained to pursue a systematically arranged series of subjects directed towards either industry, commerce, domestic duties or rural pursuits. The grouped courses were offered to all applicants in a district but were definitely imposed only upon those who had just left school. Each group was divided usually into two stages and the hope was that after preliminary instruction in workshop arithmetic, technical drawing and elementary science or handicraft (along with English the normal industrial course), or in English, commercial arithmetic, shorthand and

book-keeping (the commercial course), the student would pass into the carefully organised technical courses in the advanced schools where these were to be taught.

The grouped courses still characterise the evening continuation school, especially in the industrial North. They usually involve attendance for three evenings a week and for two hours on each evening, at any rate in the industrial and the commercial series. The domestic course is looser, an assemblage of classes in needlework, cookery and laundry-work (if feasible) along with English, rather than a graded course looking forward to advanced technical teaching. The rural course hardly exists in its intended form. In large towns where the day school premises are commodious there will also be provision for miscellaneous detached classes, e.g. in languages or handicraft, open to individual students with special ambitions, but, as a rule, in the industrial districts most of the students under seventeen pursue some kind of grouped course, partial or complete. There is of course no compulsion to attend at all, or having embarked to persevere; and it is to be feared that pressure and persuasion often fail in the face of the calls of business as Christmas and spring approach and of counter attractions; less than half of the annual leavers from the day schools go on to the continuation schools and only about a quarter see the two-year course through, and even fewer if the course is planned for three winters. It is becoming increasingly doubtful in the minds of those who are familiar with the schools whether the continuation school for juniors in the organised form described is either the best means of prolonging the educational life of the juvenile adolescent or the right procedure for creating a technically trained industrial population. The point will rise again in these notes. In the meantime one may remark that the extension of post-primary education in the central and senior schools has an obvious bearing on this question: for

on the average the boy or girl now spends a year longer under full time instruction than was the case thirty years ago.

The group course system in its more rigid form finds much less favour outside the industrial North. London discarded the old name of evening school for the name evening institute some years before the Board adopted the present nomenclature; and the word institute was meant to suggest a more general kind of provision, a club rather than a school. The booklets issued for circulation in the various districts of London are headed 'spend your leisure time wisely'. The Junior Institutes in London are very various; some offer subjects preparatory to technical instruction, others commercial subjects or those which are demanded in Civil Service examinations. But they are subjects rather than a course and some are general and not specific, while certain institutes frankly aim at attracting students by physical exercises, music, crafts and the drama. Women's Institutes also are for general culture as a rule, with instruction in the domestic arts. It appears probable that the problem of the education of the young adolescent, so far as it is to be met by evening schools, will in the long run be more satisfactorily solved by institutes of the London type except for those who by ability and ambition are ready to embark upon the more specific preparation for industry or commerce.

## iii

The solution of the problem was thought to be at hand in the exhilaration of the last year of the war and after the Armistice. It was to be the Day Continuation School. Examples of such schools were quoted from German practice in certain districts where trades were well marked and young people in them were compulsorily sent to continuative classes during working hours, classes mainly vocational in type. There were also

riking instances in England, in which certain well-known firms in Birmingham, York and elsewhere regularly organised continuation schools in the daytime for their younger work-people: these were in the main non-vocational, for the nature of the daily occupation of the pupils called for little instruction of a specifically technical kind, and the undoubted primary aim of the promoters was to cultivate the general well-being of their employees and not directly to stimulate their technical efficiency.

Mr Fisher's Act of 1918 contained clauses, to be operative when the time should be deemed appropriate, by which it was to be compulsory on all employers of labour to release boys and girls up to sixteen, and seven years later, up to eighteen, to attend day continuation classes for 320 hours, or in certain cases for 280 hours per annum, and compulsory on young persons of these ages, not otherwise under day school instruction to attend. The day continuation schools were to be provided by the L.E.A. The clauses were accepted by parliament in the provisional shape in which they appeared in the Act. After much persuasion employers were induced, reluctantly, to face the reorganisation which they involved and a rapid enquiry among the L.E.A.'s showed that to find accommodation was not impossible even without elaborate and expensive schemes of building. L.E.A.'s began to get ready for their new duties and various schemes were carried out for preparing teachers for the contemplated new schools. London and West Ham put the compulsory clauses into operation for a time, but the reaction that followed the first consultation of 1918 compelled them to abandon compulsion and discouraged other L.E.A.'s from attempting it. The board could not go counter to public feeling and fix 'appointed days' for L.E.A.'s obviously unwilling. Thus the operation of the famous clauses, which contemplated the gradual spread of obligatory day continuation schools, has been indefinitely

postponed. There is one area, Rugby, where they are still carried out. In London and West Ham, day continuation schools remain in smaller numbers than originally planned and are voluntarily attended; and in various places, such as Birmingham, York, Bolton and elsewhere, voluntary schools continue with partial compulsion imposed by certain firms. The total number of students attending them is nearly 17,000. Meantime, as already suggested before in this book, the situation has changed, by the reorganisation of elementary schools under the Hadow scheme, and by the spread of a growing conviction, not only in Labour circles, that the age of leaving school should be raised to fifteen.

It is the considered opinion of some observers that by the failure of Mr Fisher's courageous measure the nation has missed a great opportunity of retaining the youth of the country under educational influences, and of experimenting with forms of education for them untrammelled by the usual procedure of the day elementary or secondary school. Many people hoped that the compulsory day continuation school would not be mainly technical or too closely linked with preparation for industry or commerce, but cultural in a wide sense and 'humanistic', aiming to educate through physical training, the crafts, domestic and others, music and literature; in fact much as some of the evening institutes are now conducted. The idea of giving further education to the mass of young people through pursuits appropriate to leisure is decidedly attractive: whether it would have been overborne, as some experiences indicate might have happened, by the demand of the students themselves for utilitarian subjects, is uncertain. With the present set of opinion in favour of prolonged full-time education, the result is likely to be at best conjectural. Meantime the *humanistic* ideal is not totally submerged. It appears in the wide conception of the function of the central and senior school, and more and more in the

ctual teaching of schools specifically called technical. But the universal compulsory day continuation school seems at present unlikely to be recalled.

## iv

o far we have dealt with part-time classes for young persons who have left school and must be therefore beyond the exemption age. There are also certain full-time day schools, called now officially Junior Vocational and Junior House-ifyery Schools. The former are better known under their older names of Junior Technical Schools or Trade Schools.

The Junior Technical Schools, of which there are now sixty-seven in England and Wales, arose before the war and were officially recognised as distinct institutions in 1912. They are a kind of *École d'apprentissage*, or better a pre-apprenticeship school, taking boys at thirteen or fourteen and giving them advanced instruction in subjects of technical value in industry, not only mathematics and handicraft, but also appropriate science and technical drawing. The course is normally for two or three years. By its very nature it cannot be undertaken by the merely average or mediocre boy, and the standard of admission is necessarily high. Though the bias of the school is quite definitely technical, the general education of the boys is continued in English and history, with emphasis in history on the social and economic side; and it is satisfactory to know that the non-technical subjects are allowed with as much eagerness and zest as the others. The trend of the technical training is most commonly towards the engineering and building industries, for these are to be found in any town of considerable size. But there are also schools which have localised industries in view, textiles, mining, furniture, ship-building, tailoring and, in London, even a school for chefs and waiters. Many of the large technical colleges

have junior technical schools as part of their organisation, especially where the major part of their work for older students is specialised, for example, in boot and shoe manufacturing. In a sense the junior technical school is an aristocrat among post-primary schools, with its carefully selected pupils, its clear objective and its close connection with the industry it serves.

The corresponding type of vocational school for girls usually has in view the needle-trades, dressmaking and ladies' tailoring, embroidery and the like, when it is often known as a trade school. Some schools organised on the same general plan as these, but rarely for more than a one-year course, are schools of domestic subjects or home management, and are officially known as Junior Housewifery Schools. It is to be remembered that any school which has students under fourteen is bound to continue the general education of the pupils as well as offer them some special technical training.

Junior Commercial Schools, for girls, or for both boys and girls, occur here and there, sometimes covering three years. There seems to be a less urgent need for special schools of this type. This is partly because commerce is not easily divisible into sections, as industry is divisible into groups of related industries for each of which a coordinated course is readily formulated. For pupils of the age under consideration a course consists of useful separate subjects generally required in every business, subjects of which shorthand and book-keeping with typewriting are the staple, and these are adequately provided in some central schools, in some departments of secondary schools and in many evening schools. It is well known also that certain private establishments cater for the humbler kind of shorthand typists. Again, roughly corresponding to junior technical schools are the day courses for junior pupils in Schools of Art; in them the junior work will consist of different kinds of technical preparation along with

a continuance of general education appropriate to the age of the young students.

The sketch of Further Education given in this and the previous sections illustrates the diversity of the forms of continued education open to young persons up to the ages of sixteen or seventeen if they are not in secondary or in central schools; it also reveals the absence of any obvious governing principle and of any very clear relation between the various types. The new reference to the Consultative Committee, of which mention was made at the end of chapter vi, speaks of the organisation and interrelation of schools, other than those which are covered by the Elementary Code. Presumably the kinds of schools described in the present chapter will come under review, since the Committee is to concern itself with pupils over eleven plus and 'not ordinarily continuing their education beyond about sixteen'.

## CHAPTER IX

### FURTHER EDUCATION: ADULT EDUCATION

After dealing with forms of Further Education which are in the main, though not exclusively, continuative, and provide for the young adolescent, it is proper to consider the education of older youths and girls and of adults. This will be again for the most part technical but also cultural in a wide sense. It is tempting to make a fresh basis of classification, and to point out that while the previous chapter undoubtedly concerns students whose previous education has been in the elementary school, schools and classes described in the present chapter require students to have had an education beyond the age of fourteen and beyond the elements. Though it is true that the advanced technical instruction to be now mentioned certainly could not be profitably undertaken by persons with nothing more than even a good elementary education, the implied contrast between elementary and secondary education would be fallacious. Much of the work for adults, for example in women's institutes, can be accomplished without further preliminary school education beyond the usual age, requiring indeed some experience of home and the world and interest but not learning. Moreover it is manifestly absurd to talk as if education and training were acquired only in day schools. Technical education has been in the past and still is in the present successfully followed by many whose schooling has ended at fourteen or even earlier. But success in the advanced work depends not only upon perseverance and ability but also on positive acquirements beyond those of the standards. These have been gained in some cases by attendance at evening



long standing, or they may be a newly formed collection of classes for older students grouped in a suitably situated building. They will rarely have laboratories or special and extensive equipment of machines and tools. The term may even cover, for administrative purposes, the work in a village Women's Institute. Whatever it is, the senior evening institute is much less of a preparatory school than the junior institute is apt to be. The mere time-table of classes in a large institute at first sight is bewildering. But the students no longer need to be compelled or persuaded to follow an organised course as in the junior institute. They are older and come with a definite purpose, and they are usually advised, where advice is needed, by the responsible teacher of the institute as to the classes which will best serve the purpose they have in mind. Sometimes also they wish to prepare for a specific examination. Often also students select classes in single subjects, e.g. in a language or a craft, which for their own pleasure they wish to pursue. An example or two will illustrate the nature of the work of an evening institute. In a small county borough classes in mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, building, commerce with commercial law, French and office subjects are offered and some 300 students attend: in Liverpool, which has a very large Technical and Nautical School and a School of Commerce, an evening institute with over 700 students provides classes in commerce, office subjects, French, Spanish, domestic subjects and women's trades. These cannot be called typical because the variety and extent of what is done in evening institutes forbid one to say what is a norm or type. The second of these has no technical or trade classes for men for they are provided elsewhere, and relies on classes in commercial subjects along with domestic crafts. The first quoted, in a town without a full Technical College, combines both technology and commerce.

The senior evening institutes of London exhibit certain

interesting features. The technical classes proper are found in the larger institutions now called Colleges for Further Education. It is obvious that only in a place of some magnitude and specially built can there be equipment of a permanent kind, often involving power, and that even introductory advanced work to be properly done involves application to practice. Ordinary evening institutes, used by day as day schools for the most part, cannot accommodate more than a modest amount of apparatus. Accordingly, in the classified list of L.C.C. evening institutes, technical institutes under that name rarely appear except in outlying districts. There are however numerous commercial institutes for persons over eighteen with classes in accountancy, law, geography, economics and languages, as well as the more mechanical office subjects. A similar distribution of functions may be found in some large towns with a fully equipped technical school. London is peculiar in providing Literary Institutes under that name, where very varied classes are held in literature and languages, art and architecture, economics, music and philosophy. In these the aim is cultural in general and the Literary Institutes are a kind of social club with further education as the principal object. Some Men's Institutes also exist for a similar purpose but the classes are less advanced. On the same lines Women's Institutes are found where home crafts are taught as well as hygiene, nursing, first aid and the like: these institutes, like some of the men's institutes, also teach music, literature and physical exercises.

## ii

The Colleges for Further Education, mentioned in the last paragraph, constitute the highest rank of the institutions recognised as eligible for Parliamentary grant as supplying technical and other forms of 'Further' education. They are held to be 'of major importance', as compared with the

evening institutes, which, although some are called technical institutes and have a history behind them, are frequently reconstituted by the L.E.A. year after year but have no separate corporate existence. The Colleges for the most part contain day classes, even if the bulk of the work is done in the evenings. They are commonly in buildings constructed or at least adapted for the purpose. Some were the product of the movement for technical education which arose in the 1870's; and some, like certain evening institutes, originated in the enthusiasm for mechanics' institutes of an earlier date. A considerable majority, independent maybe in foundation, have been wholly taken over by the L.E.A.'s or were absorbed before 1902 by the Technical Instruction Committees. Others, with an independent management, are 'directed' or 'controlled', so far as technical education is concerned, by the L.E.A. A few, such as Reading University (evening work only), the Merchant Venturers' College at Bristol and the Working Mens' College at St Pancras are 'non-controlled'; these receive Direct Grant, like those secondary schools which are neither provided by nor aided through the L.E.A. It may here be specifically remarked, as may have occurred to a reader of the preceding chapter, that to a very large extent the Further Education which comes under the supervision of the Board of Education is provided by and directed by the L.E.A.'s. The advantages of organising so complicated a process as technical and commercial education through an authority which governs a large area are clear. Pure voluntary effort would be sporadic and often unstable; yet a careful examination of individual institutions, from large colleges down to humble evening schools would reveal an astonishing amount of voluntary initiative and co-operation, which makes the organisation of further education, though a system indeed, not a scheme devised by a bureaucracy and imposed upon a people who have no share in shaping it. A later chapter will

indicate certain aspects of further education which lie wholly outside both the Board and the L.E.A.'s.

It is impossible within the limits of this chapter to describe all that is implied in technical education and all the many kinds of work in a College for Further Education. Even a skeleton outline would have to take industry by industry and tabulate the kind of training appropriate for various grades in each; and this is out of the question. The complexity and the variety are such that a few illustrative particulars and some general observations alone can be offered.

The programme of a Technical College about fifty years old in a county borough of some 130,000 inhabitants will suggest some pertinent characteristics. It has over 1500 students, all but a few part-time students. The only full-time course is a commercial course of one year for girls of senior standing, not the merely introductory subjects taken in a junior institute. Other day classes are as follows: mechanical engineering apprentices and electrical engineering apprentices (three years), building trades' apprentices (two years), pharmacy (three years), chemistry (three years). These are attended by persons in employment who have time off in their working hours. It will be found that the first three kinds of classes, for engineering and building, occur in nearly all the non-specialised technical schools. These industries occur in most of the populous centres of the country, for one thing; and for another, they lend themselves more easily to real technical education, to practical skill combined with scientific knowledge, better than certain other industries. Not only so but once entered upon a course of technical training a student can proceed from grade to grade with a national certificate in view. The significance of a National Certificate will be explained in a following section. In the College chosen for illustration there are regular evening courses in mechanical and electrical engineering, building and chemistry, directed

towards the National Certificate, as well as technical classes for the 'trades' as they are called, that is the various employments which are subdivisions of the vast and complex industries concerned. The college, which is in a textile district, has also evening classes in cotton spinning and weaving, besides classes in grocery, tailor's cutting and typography. It thus caters for a very wide variety of students, but curiously enough, the hatting industry which prevails in the neighbourhood does not seem to be represented. On the side of commerce, besides the full-time day course mentioned there are evening classes in accountancy, commercial law and modern languages, as well as the usual office subjects. Further, domestic subjects and women's trades find a place.

The Board of Education in their Regulations recognise that the Colleges for Further Education may prepare students, usually in evening classes, for the stages of a degree. In the college chosen there are courses for the intermediate and final examinations for the B.Sc. in engineering, with a preparatory matriculation class: these are part-time day classes, as is another for the intermediate stage of the R.I.B.A. in architecture.

Broadly the institutions dignified by the name of Colleges for Further Education resemble the college just described. The larger Technical Colleges provide numerous full-time courses in advanced technology lasting two, three or even four years, though the actual numbers attending are small in comparison with the thousands of pupils in part-time courses. Some of these aim at university degrees in Science and Commerce, and even Arts. Some few again have affiliations with provincial universities as Huddersfield has with Leeds. The highest work of the Manchester College of Technology forms the Department of Technology of Manchester University. But the bulk of what is done in the largest colleges is in evening classes and in part-time day classes. Besides

the generally prevalent classes in the branches of engineering and building the colleges will provide similar types of instruction in industries which are specially prominent in the neighbourhood, e.g. mining in Wigan, Staffordshire and elsewhere, pottery in Staffordshire, boot and shoe manufacture in Northampton, hosiery in Leicester, textiles in Lancashire and Yorkshire. In London there are special colleges devoted to one industry and its branches: the Leather-sellers' Company's Technical College in Bermondsey for leather manufactures, the Cordwainers' Technical College in Finsbury for boot and shoe manufacture, the L.C.C. Hammersmith School of Building, the L.C.C. Lambeth School of Building, the L.C.C. City School of Lithography and the Southwark School of Painting, and the Shoreditch Technical Institute for the furniture trades are examples.

The colleges known in London as Polytechnics rank for the purposes of Further Education as general technical institutes, each with a wide and varied programme of classes, part-time and full-time, day and evening. Their purpose was indeed technical in the first instance, but the famous Regent Street Polytechnic was also religious and philanthropic in origin and has preserved expanded activities resembling those of the Y.M.C.A. All of them, and in some degree also most of the technical institutes, cultivate the social side as well as the technical, and are colleges in reality besides being now colleges in name.

The types already mentioned do not exhaust the varieties of colleges for further education. In London and the largest towns are Schools of Commerce, such as the City of London College, with full-time senior courses, part-time day courses and an array of evening classes. Similarly certain Schools of Domestic Economy are aided on the same terms and are constituted on the same lines as the technical institutes. Further, in London, but rarely elsewhere, there are colleges

like the Morley College and the Working Men's College, which deal with general subjects, economics, literature, languages, history, art and music, without attempting subjects commonly considered more utilitarian.

## iii

A question naturally suggests itself after a survey such as the preceding; on what principle or principles are the contents of the wide range of classes and subjects determined? Primary education, fixed for a long time by successive Codes, is now well established by practice and tradition. The standards of secondary education are based in part on tradition and in part on recognised examinations, which again in part lean upon the requirements of universities. What of technical and commercial education? It is impossible to take the greatest common measure of the personal preferences of individual students, who are not necessarily aware of what is best to secure their own avowed aims. As was explained in the preceding chapter, it was found necessary in the junior institutes to press beginners into organised courses and to lay down in some detail what should constitute each course. So more advanced work must somehow be organised in detail and the organisation accepted by those, employers or employed, to whom technical and commercial education is of value. To a large extent this object is secured and teachers are guided by examinations and by the recommendations of Advisory Committees.

The old Science and Art Department at South Kensington encouraged classes in science and art chiefly by examinations. Grants were paid on the success of individual passes in examinations of separate subjects taught by teachers whom the department recognised and upon syllabuses laid down in separate stages announced by the department. These were available also for the scientific and mathematical side of

evening schools and technical schools when they began to do systematic work. But they were not technological. Meantime the City and Guilds of London Institute, founded in 1880 by a union of the great Livery Companies to promote technical education, had built up a huge system of examinations supplementing the science and art examinations on the side of technology, and the Royal Society of Arts had also long issued certificates in commercial and other general subjects. The three bodies, the Department, the Institute and the Society, were at hand to guide further education in evening schools and furnish students with the kind of visible guarantee that a formal certificate affords. But the certificates were for separate subjects and subdivisions of subjects, and though they seemed to set up a quasi-national standard in each, they were necessarily uniform and did not suit all conditions. The Board of Education, which had absorbed the science and art department, gradually dropped the science examinations after 1911, but were ready to endorse well-balanced courses which were tested by other bodies: this was to give greater liberty to teachers. At the present time, certain large L.E.A.'s like the West Riding and Kent, issue their own certificates: a very large Union of Institutes in Lancashire and Cheshire and others in the Midlands not only suggest syllabuses but issue certificates of success in their own examinations. The City and Guilds of London Institute and the Royal Society of Arts continue on as large a scale as before. The importance of the participation of all these bodies is that they are able to bring into technical education through Advisory Committees the skilled advice of teachers, officers of L.E.A.'s and persons fully acquainted with industrial and commercial requirements. Thus an influential body of expert opinion has been gradually created in a region which at first sight appears to be unarticulated and amorphous.

Apart from university degrees the high-water mark of

success in technical education is the National Certificate. National Certificates are awarded by the Board of Education in co-operation with certain professional Institutions, those of Mechanical Engineers, Electrical Engineers, Chemistry, Builders and Naval Architects: the Institution of Gas Engineers has a similar certificate. It will be noted that these are industries the leaders of which are highly organised. The certificates are based on the highest type of work in each industry, courses of which are approved by the Institutes and the Board; they are tested by carefully devised examinations in which the Board and the Institute take part. Many of the Colleges for Further Education have had their courses in preparation for the National Certificate approved but naturally enough the actual number of students who succeed in the test after a prolonged course is small. But the existence of a National Certificate and all that it implies is a capital instance of great industries taking a share in and controlling the education of their most highly qualified entrants. Most of the industries are not organised in the same way as those mentioned, and National Certificates are not yet available for them. A National Certificate for Commerce is now (1934) under consideration. On the other hand chartered bodies, such as the Institutes of Actuaries, Bankers, Accountants and Secretaries, have their own examinations, like the medical and legal profession, and some technical colleges have classes for the various stages. In this way, too, technical education is systematically directed, tested and rewarded by diplomas of recognised value.

## iv

It will have been noticed that for the most part pure technical education has been concerned with the industries of production. But of late years courses have been formed for training in the distributive trades. Salesmanship has been very much in the public eye and 'publicity' has begun to rank

as a specific calling. As particular examples of the technical preparation for distribution may be quoted certain classes in retail distribution as applied to drapery and furnishing as well as more general courses in grocery. In the same wide category may be placed the London classes for chefs and waiters, already mentioned.

No account of technical education should omit the important subjects of Art and Agriculture, though it may be difficult to be at once adequate and succinct. Training for Agriculture, by one of those oddities of allocation of functions that may be found in English life, does not come within the very large sphere over which the Minister of Education presides. Agricultural education is the province of the Board of Agriculture, as military and naval education is ruled by the War Office and the Admiralty. The Board of Education keeps in touch with the Board of Agriculture so far as schools are concerned, but the connection between them in elementary and secondary, and even technical education is slight and indirect, covering little more than an interest in rural subjects as desirable components in a general education. Thus gardening, bee-keeping and simple work with poultry are popular in elementary schools, and those not only in the deep country; and some training colleges give special attention to these subjects in training teachers. But agricultural education, so far as it is fostered and encouraged by grants from the Board of Agriculture, is carried out in special Agricultural Colleges for students beyond the usual school age; and these colleges are comparable in status with University Colleges. Reading University has a special department for Agriculture and Horticulture, with degrees and diplomas, and other universities are active in a less special way. But agricultural education, though it is to be considered as a part of the national system, is curiously remote from what may be called the main currents.

Education in Art is historically the oldest form of technical education aided by government grant. There was a Normal School of Design under the Board of Trade in 1837, and when, after the Great Exhibition of 1851, science came to the front, the famous Department of Science and Art at South Kensington came into being. What has been said earlier in this book of the encouragement given by South Kensington to the teaching of science applies also to art. Under the Board of Education art has been a section of the Branch which dealt with technology in general and has had its own inspectors and rules. In the classification of institutions of Further Education eligible for grant which has been used in the present survey, Art Schools and Junior Departments in Art Schools find a place along with technical schools or evening institutes. The junior departments have already been mentioned in chapter VIII. Art schools are found in most of the larger county boroughs and also in some smaller areas under counties. As in technical schools, the number of full-time students varies extremely, from a mere handful to a hundred and more, but the great bulk of students are part-time students, not necessarily all in evening classes. Drawing, artistic crafts and design are the staple of the curriculum. Art schools, however, are not so closely bound up with training for industry as are technical schools, and much of the teaching is of individuals or of small special groups. But in the larger schools particularly a connection is maintained with industries, such as pottery, textiles and certain metal trades, where artistic design and execution have scope. The Royal College of Art in London stands at the head of the art schools which are aided from government funds; it is actually part of the Board of Education like the Science Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum, its neighbours in South Kensington. The College of Art grants diplomas and, without any close organic connection with local schools of art, acts

as a kind of university to which students of art may aspire. These terms must not be pressed too narrowly, for art schools cherish their individuality and their independence. Nor must it be forgotten that, apart entirely from art instruction as fostered by the Board of Education and L.E.A.'s there are schools of art, such as the Slade School and others, which have a national, not to say a world-wide reputation.

## v

*Adult Education*

A branch or department of Further Education which has been officially distinguished from the rest of that very comprehensive sphere is known as Adult Education. Since 1924 it has had its own official Regulations and a system of requirements and grants peculiar to itself. Adult education, for administrative purposes, is something different from the kind of education described in the previous sections of the present chapter, though these have dealt in the main with persons no longer legally under age. It is 'liberal education' as distinct from vocational training; it is advanced because it assumes, if not high intellectual attainment in its students, a maturity of thought and of reflection along with a willingness to undertake serious study for its own sake. The various institutes and classes which have hitherto been mentioned as providing instruction of a general and cultural kind are not included among the special groups which the Board's Regulations for Adult Education are designed. Adult Education then for official purposes has a specific connotation. At the same time it is significant that two important bodies, the Adult Education Committee, an advisory standing committee set up by the Board of Education, and the British Institute of Adult Education, a voluntary body of sympathisers, conceive of

adult education as something much broader than the categories which are eligible for aid from public funds.

Adult Education, in the narrower and official sense, is the product of two main movements. University Extension Lectures, beginning in the '70's with Cambridge, were adopted also by Oxford and by the newer universities as they grew. They were intended to meet the needs of audiences outside universities by providing courses of lectures, chiefly in history and literature, to be given by university teachers. Some of them formed the foundation of University Colleges, as at Reading. In the present century the university committees responsible for extension courses have expanded into regular departments of universities and university colleges, departments of Extra-mural Studies. This was an approach to the problem from the teaching end. An approach from the students' end was the formation by Dr Albert Mansbridge of the Workers' Educational Association in 1903. The W.E.A. (to give it its familiar title) definitely aimed at introducing to working men and women studies of university standard, directed by tutors of university training. The conjunction of these two movements is the basis of the greater part of the adult education that is being here considered.

The highest type of course for which the Board offers a grant is a tutorial class lasting three years; it is expected to aim at the standard of university work in honours, an aim which experience has found to be possible of achievement in a gratifying number of cases. Classes are held at least once a week for twenty-four weeks in each of three years at least. Each class is to last two hours. They are to be tutorial; a lecture usually opens the class, to be followed by discussion, the reading of essays by individuals, or what is known as seminar work. The tutor is in charge and responsible for the lecture, for directing reading, for assigning the written work he is entitled to require and correcting it, and for guiding the

discussion. All this means serious study and hard work on the part of teacher and taught. The favourite subject of these courses has been economics or economic history, but literature, philosophy and sociology are also popular.

In the nature of things a course such as thus sketched, covering three years and calling for regular application is not for every man, however interested he may be. Accordingly the Board recognises one-year courses, and terminal courses, and also even shorter vacation courses. The general aims and conditions are the same but the standard must obviously be more limited. The three-year tutorial classes, the most highly developed form of adult education with one exception, are under the management of Extension Boards of Universities or University Colleges, most commonly, in conjunction with the W.E.A., through joint committees. This extra-mural university work also includes preparatory classes to deal with students as yet unfitted for the strenuous three-year tutorial course, and advanced tutorial classes for students who are capable of proceeding beyond; it also includes the long standing type of extension lectures, which are officially recognised for grant if, as part of a wider audience, a group is formed for tutorial work after and bearing on the usual public lecture.

Apart from the specifically university tutorial classes, others, almost entirely one-year or terminal courses, are initiated by various organisations, of which the W.E.A. is the chief. In addition vacation courses, necessarily of short duration, are recognised and aided by the Board. Further, it is interesting to note that a Residential College, which offers full-time instruction to adults may be so recognised and aided. This provision was doubtless meant to bring under the aegis of the Board the well-known Ruskin College at Oxford, an institution which for many years and amid many vicissitudes has afforded working men the opportunity of prolonged study

under university auspices. Two other colleges, the Coleg Harlech in Wales and a small women's college, are helped under the same conditions as Ruskin College, the chief of which are that the work must be of university standard and should include at least a year of full-time study.

It must again be emphasised that Adult Education comprises much more than is implied in the official regulations just discussed. The two bodies mentioned earlier, the Adult Education Committee and the Institute of Adult Education, are interested not only in the promotion of systematic study but also in educational activities like the drama and broadcasting. So other associations, such as the Y.M.C.A., not only provide vocational classes of the usual kind but also foster a good deal of adult education of a 'liberal' kind if not so precisely organised as the tutorial classes of the W.E.A. and universities, and a liberal education does not consist entirely of the study of economics and history. The L.E.A.'s too, under the general name of further education, have the interests of the studious adult in mind. Some of them set up Adult Education Committees and assume responsibility for the finance and aid in the management of the officially recognised classes, while most of them assist such classes without attempting to administer, besides aiding in various degrees the development of adult education in its most general sense.

## CHAPTER X

### THE UNIVERSITIES

In any description of the educational system of a modern country the Universities will be rightly accounted the crown of the edifice, however loose and unco-ordinated the main structure below them may be. In countries like France and Germany, where education is regulated more ostensibly by the state than it is in Britain or the United States, the supreme position of the universities is easy to perceive. But the position is not less assured in our own country, though it is less strictly defined and though the universities have no legally fixed place in the official organisation of education, which has been the main subject of the previous chapters of this book. For the universities are undoubtedly a part of the national system, which, it may be said once more, is not coterminous with the state system. Apart from the history of the two old and venerable universities, which is intimately bound up with the history and life of the English people, and the growth of the newer universities which is no less intimately associated with the social development of the last hundred years, the universities are closely connected with the state system itself, as will be shown in due course. The educational ladder which successive administrations have tried to strengthen ends at the universities. Through them mainly is opened up access to the great liberal professions and in another direction is offered the prospect of advance in industry and commerce.

#### i

There are twelve universities in England and Wales. Oxford and Cambridge enjoy pride of place in virtue of their hoary tradition and their contribution to the history of the country.

Durham, enlarged by the addition of the Newcastle colleges, and London are about a century old. Manchester, Leeds and Liverpool, once united as the Victoria University, have been independent since 1903, and Birmingham since 1900. Wales had its charter in 1893, Sheffield and Bristol later, and Reading in 1926. With the universities must be associated the University Colleges. Those of Nottingham, Southampton and Exeter are recognised as such, those of Hull and Leicester are recognised in part.

It is not strictly true to say that universities and university colleges are wholly outside the state system, as private schools of various types may be so accounted. What is true is that the kind of control which the previous chapters of this book have described as being exercised by the state and the L.E.A.'s over the great mass of elementary and Further Education and over a large part of secondary education does not extend over university education. The Government of the country is not powerless to intervene in university matters, indeed, but it does not intervene through the Board of Education. During the last 100 years it has effectively influenced university education through special reforming Commissions and through specific Acts of Parliament, for example the Universities Tests Act 1871. Moreover the granting of charters to new universities, though not a matter for parliamentary discussion, is in effect determined by the Government. Again Parliament allots Treasury grants for university work, assigning a lump sum, but this is distributed through a special committee, appointed by the Treasury, and not through the Board, called the University Grants Committee. Unlike the Board this Committee, appointed first in 1911, issues no set of regulations or conditions of grant to be fulfilled. Nor is it a body of civil servants acting as a department; it consists of a number of eminent men familiar with university work, who from time to time pay informal visits of enquiry, and are kept

in touch with the needs, projects and claims of each university. Oxford and Cambridge stood aloof for some time, but accepted grants in 1922 after Royal Commissions had reported on them. It is desirable to add here, although an English reader needs no reminder, that in England and Wales, or in fact in the British Isles, there is nothing resembling the governmental control of universities which is found in some countries abroad. The Government cannot dictate to a university what it shall teach, or dismiss a professor whose teaching may be unacceptable. The independence of the universities is very real.

It is no contradiction of this independence to mention the numerous points of contact between the Board of Education and the L.E.A.'s on the one hand and the universities on the other. There are certain services which the universities render for which the Board pays as it pays to other bodies rendering similar services. The most conspicuous of these are the training of teachers and adult education. Every university and every university college has a Training Department, and each training department is allowed to take an assigned number of 'recognised' students, on whose behalf the Board pays a capitation grant to the department on account of tuition fees besides a personal grant for maintenance to the student. It is not too much to say that the provincial universities in their struggling years, and the university colleges all along, owe very much to the presence of a large body of training students whose attendance at degree courses was in a sense guaranteed. The Board naturally lay down requirements and conditions especially as to professional training; but the self-determination of the universities on the academic side remains unimpaired, and the Board's supervision of the professional work, save for certain requirements to ensure parallel or equivalent standards, is extremely light. The Board's financial interest in adult education was explained in

the preceding chapter. Without anything but very indirect control, the Board contribute further to university resources through State Scholarships and through the general Deficiency Grants to L.E.A.'s, which include the expenditure of L.E.A.'s on scholarship schemes to assist local students in their university careers. The L.E.A.'s on their part share in the expense of the scholarships they grant. If they do not on their own authority pay a definite contribution to a university as education committees, the councils which, it may be remembered, are the ultimate authority, vote sums of money to the local university. Thus the London County Council, as well as the City of London, has voted large subsidies to the building of London University. The Councils are usually represented on the Governing Bodies of London and the Provincial Universities, and University representatives serve as co-opted members of education committees, except in London, in the areas in which a university stands. It may be added that the connection between the University of Wales with its four constituent colleges and the L.E.A.'s of the Principality is more than usually close.

## ii

Such are the financial and official links between the universities and the authorities which control and manage the public system of education in England and Wales. The connection with the schools of the country is of course closer and more intimate than these bare facts would of themselves suggest. It became closer in the nineteenth century when the practice of the private education of boys of the upper classes by tutors fell into almost entire desuetude. Schools had always sent boys forward to Oxford and Cambridge, even poor boys, like Dr Johnson, but the regular progress from school to university was not fully established till the Public Schools began to multiply and the older foundations to be completely roused

from the lethargy of the preceding century. The endowed schools, especially in large towns, which revived after the 'sixties, took advantage of the scholarships now no longer closed and contributed a steady stream of middle-class and even humbler students, and the 'educational ladder' was broadened. Meanwhile also Oxford and Cambridge had been freed from the restrictions in the shape of religious tests which had kept all but members of the Church of England from real membership. London had imposed no tests from the beginning: indeed that freedom was its *raison d'être*, and the rising provincial colleges were also free from tests. Thus all the universities have become national in their accessibility to persons of all stations and of all creeds. After 1902 the new state Secondary Schools began to fill the provincial universities first, and soon to secure a share of the privileges of Oxford and Cambridge. The Free Place system and the enlarged scholarships of the L.E.A.'s brought in a number of students who came originally from elementary schools. These had never been actually wanting under the more aristocratic régime; but the path of approach was further widened. At the same time the universities themselves, the old and especially the newer, opened up contacts with other forms of national life besides the learned professions of the church and the law. The great medical schools attached themselves to universities and the scientific movement of the nineteenth century stimulated the demand for training in many branches of science, to which may be added in more recent years technology. The expansion of both elementary and secondary education, as already suggested, meant a large increase in the teaching service. But behind all this there has lain the growing demand for opportunities of more and of superior education, a demand to which the very rapid growth of the newer universities and university colleges was the response. So university education has grown to be an object to which the

able and ambitious of all ranks may aspire, and one which no longer leads only to the church or the leisure of a country gentleman but to participation in all the higher walks of the nation's business.

The brief sketch so far has seemed to concern men only. But, since the beginning of the present century, it has been true in the main of women. Women were admitted to the classes of the university colleges and, when charters were secured, to the full membership of the provincial universities. London accepted women for degrees in 1878. The Oxford and Cambridge colleges for women began sixty years ago, and Oxford in 1920 admitted women to full membership of the university both as undergraduates and as graduates. Two years later Cambridge gave 'titles for degrees' but does not yet recognise women as members of the university. So far as examinations and university distinctions go, women are treated exactly as men: women have won university prizes and a woman once was above the Senior Wrangler at Cambridge. But in the two senior universities women are at a disadvantage, because their colleges are fewer, and not only are there fewer open scholarships but also there is severe competition to secure even a place. In London, on the other hand, there are colleges open only to women such as Bedford, Holloway and Westfield, as well as large colleges like University, King's and East London freely open to both sexes.

Enough has been said to justify the claim that the universities are essentially a part of the national system of education in England and Wales. They are the crown of the structure, which is broadly built on a genuine national foundation. They influence but do not dominate what lies below them. Some critics consider that in some ways the influence is too strong, that through tradition which still permeates public opinion and through the examinations described in a previous chapter, an academic ideal is fostered

which is not in the best interests of the large majority of pupils who attend secondary schools of all kinds. However that may be—and we are not concerned in this book to do more than relate the facts—there is no doubt of the prestige of the universities in the educational world or of the very substantial contribution they make to the national welfare.

## iii

A broad distinction is sometimes drawn between Oxford and Cambridge on the one hand and other universities, in that the former are residential and the latter not. The distinction needs to be used with care. At Oxford and Cambridge a student is a member of a college besides being a member of the university; and at some period during his years of study for a degree he is expected to live in college. The existence of a non-collegiate body and of the Oxford Society of Home Students (women) only emphasises the rule. But none of the men's colleges can accommodate all the undergraduates for the full period, and a year or more, often two or three years, must be spent in officially licensed lodgings where the student is under university and college discipline. Yet with negligible exceptions the students do not live at home. The provincial universities at the outset were necessarily local (except that Durham was on the Oxford and Cambridge plan in part), and the students attended daily from home, often travelling for some distance. There was no 'coming up' or 'going down' at the beginning and ending of term at first; and for large numbers, especially of men, this is still true. But one of the constant ambitions of all the universities and university colleges has been to provide hostels into which even students living near may be encouraged to enter and which give so much valuable experience of university life. Reading has consistently kept down the number of students

in lodgings or at home and, thanks to generous supporters, has housed the majority of its students in hostels. Other universities, including the colleges making up the University of Wales, have made strides in the same direction, as have the colleges of Nottingham, Southampton and Exeter. London is peculiar. A few of the constituent colleges like Holloway, Bedford and Westfield are mostly if not wholly residential for women. Others like King's, University College and East London are day colleges, with a hostel or two. It may be noted at this point that the largest of the London colleges, such as King's and University, are in themselves as large as some of the provincial universities, and in their relations with the university as a whole are in a position of independence and self-government analogous to, though in many points differing from, the position of colleges in Oxford and Cambridge.

Another generalisation, to be treated with equal care, is that the teaching at Oxford and Cambridge is predominantly tutorial, and the teaching at other more modern universities is predominantly professorial, to classes often large, rather than to small groups or individuals. It is true that the existence in Oxford and Cambridge of separate colleges, each a corporation by itself, opens up possibilities which are hardly realisable elsewhere. A college will have actually within its walls, or within easy reach, a body of tutors in most of the main subjects, to whom groups of students can be assigned, and who will not only advise on lectures to attend and books to read but will personally criticise and discuss essays and written compositions. The tutorial intimacy does not mean that the college is wholly self-contained, for students are sent to outside lectures bearing on their work: science men must go to laboratories which as a rule are not college but university institutions. In spite of seminars and other opportunities of discussion, the tutorial association cannot well be as close in a modern university. Hostels, valuable as they are

on the social side, cannot do what colleges can on the intellectual side. One need not enlarge on the subtle influence of belonging to a college, the common dinner in hall, the chapel, the college societies, the many relations between dons and undergraduates and the feeling of a community of interests and purposes. In a modern university, students are apt to be united in 'faculties' and, except to some degree in London, not in colleges. Yet in these universities there is much that is done to discourage the isolation of students by sports, various societies, the Union, the common library and by as much personal contact between students and teachers as the circumstances permit.

It has been convenient to use the term Provincial Universities, chiefly in order to distinguish these new universities from Oxford and Cambridge. The term is not free from ambiguity. Oxford and Cambridge in fact are geographically in the provinces and London is not. Though it is true that the other universities, even London as a teaching university, are in a sense 'local', while Oxford and Cambridge are not, they are open to all comers, and the value of their degrees depends upon their individual history and prestige and not on their geographical situation. The universities in the North naturally attract students from the northern counties, and correspondingly those in the Midlands and London. Reading, itself not the centre of a large population, has drawn students from all quarters, and English students have always been numerous in Wales. But the idea which finds favour in some circles that Manchester and Liverpool, Durham, Birmingham, Leeds and Sheffield might be considered as the academic crown of a province, ultimately perhaps to become an administrative province for education, makes little headway in face of the undoubted obstacles. These lie not only in the difficulties of delimitation but also in the watchful attitude of the established L.E.A.'s who look with suspicion upon any

proposal which seems to threaten their independence. The only university of a province is that of Wales, where the whole people take a prominent part in university management through their own councils and feel a personal pride in a university to which they contribute students and money. The University of Wales is an expression of the Welsh enthusiasm for education.

The history of the new universities and university colleges shows to what an honourable degree they are local. The funds which enabled them, in the first place, to be started and to prove that they were financially deserving of a charter were furnished by local benefactors, including local councils. Their Chancellors have been men of local, as well as often of national, influence, such as Lord Derby at Liverpool, the Prince of Wales as Duke of Cornwall at Exeter, and the Duke of Wellington at Southampton. They do not, as do many of the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, depend for their resources upon estates in the country, bequeathed by benefactors; but they have had substantial endowments from men and women of wealth, such as the Wills' family which has built a magnificent university at Bristol, the Palmers and Suttons at Reading, Lord Trent at Nottingham, and more recently Mr Ferens at Hull. The original names of the university colleges commemorate the founders, Owens College in Manchester, Armstrong College in Newcastle, Mason College in Birmingham, Firth College in Sheffield, each of which was the nucleus of a university. Some of these at first emphasised the science rather than the arts side, for Mason College was reluctant to admit the classics. But it was soon clear that no one-sided college would have a chance of becoming a university, and in fact all the universities and university colleges possess a strong arts side, in which even the Greek and Latin classics have a firmly established reputation.

It is impossible to survey all the many-sided activities of universities, but a few striking features may fitly be mentioned. Oxford and Cambridge, as has been already said, retain their old prestige. The School of Literae Humaniores at Oxford, that is the study of ancient philosophy and history, with Plato, Aristotle and the Roman and Greek historians as the staple along with modern philosophy, retains its title of *the 'Greats' school*. A newer rival, '*Modern Greats*', resting on political and social philosophy, attracts many students as being more consonant with the times. In Cambridge the former glories of the Mathematical Tripos bid fair to be outstripped by the present-day reputation of the famous Cavendish Laboratory, where remarkable advances in the study of physics and the ultimate constitution of matter are being periodically announced. In both the supremacy of classics and science is challenged, but by no means successfully, by the schools and triposes in History, English and Modern Languages. Latin is still required for matriculation: but compulsory Greek has gone, first at Cambridge and later, amid much opposition, at Oxford. Newer developments are Forestry at Oxford and Anthropology at Cambridge.

London became a Teaching University in 1900. From its foundation in 1836 it had been a degree-granting university, whose students might be attached to a college such as University College or Bedford College, but might equally be in other institutions, such as training colleges and even schools, or again might be working privately. The effect of the change to a teaching university was to divide examinations with their issue in degrees and also students into two groups, the '*internal*' and the '*external*'. '*Internal*' students are those who belong to one or other of the large number of colleges which are incorporated in the university, and who are therefore

under instruction recognised as university instruction. They are registered as members of the university, much as students in Leeds or Liverpool are ranked. Their professors, lecturers and tutors have some share in the various boards which decide the contents of their studies and conduct the examinations, as elsewhere. Parallel to the internal examinations the university maintains its External side, but it has no control over externals beyond prescribing the details of the various curricula and conducting the examinations, nor have tutors and lecturers in external colleges where these exist any voice in the degree courses or in the regular tests.

As may be imagined the problems arising when the many London colleges were merged into one huge university have been intricate and troublesome. The colleges are scattered and the building used now as a university centre is the Imperial Institute at South Kensington. But with government aid and help from the Rockefeller foundation, the university is to have a new and permanent home in Bloomsbury, which will in due time become a University quarter. This does not mean that the thousands of students will flock for instruction to Bloomsbury, as the students at Sheffield and Bristol assemble in the university buildings. For the constituent colleges, some outside the central areas of London, retain a large measure of independence as do the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, an independence to which there is nothing quite corresponding at Leeds and Liverpool or even Durham. The professorships are in a way duplicated: for example there are Professors of Physics at University College, King's, Birkbeck, the Imperial College of Science, and East London College, and Professors of Psychology at University College, King's, and Bedford College, each with his laboratory and his assistants, doing parallel work for the same internal London degrees. The size and situation of these colleges, apart from the circumstances of their origin, necessitate some such plan:

indeed it is a matter for admiration that the colleges, which are inevitably rivals in many respects, should have consented to be associated in one university. The larger colleges undertake most of the forms of academic work which are found in a modern university, besides having branches peculiar to themselves. Thus University College has a department of Egyptology and another of Phonetics; King's has a department of Theology, and one of Education. The University includes all the great Schools of Medicine, and also a School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine: the London School of Economics is another constituent; so also the School of Oriental Studies. The newest additions are the Institute of Education and the Courtauld School of Art. Some of these will ultimately find a permanent home in Bloomsbury, where also the University Library and a Grand Hall as well as administrative buildings will be provided. Numerous smaller institutions such as certain theological colleges are counted as schools of the university and are admitted to certain privileges with their students as 'internal' students. The character of some of the colleges and schools suggests, what is indeed true, that the university is more than a university for London. Since its reconstitution in the present century, and especially since the war, London University has become an Imperial University. All the universities have links more or less strong with the empire, as witness the Rhodes Scholars and the Indian Institute at Oxford, and receive students from any part of it. But the special provision for oriental languages, phonetics, economics, tropical medicine and education, and the attraction of London itself mark the London University as pre-eminently the Imperial University of the future.

## v

The term 'University College', used in the present chapter, is best understood as applied to those institutions which are counted as eligible in the judgment of the University Grants Committee to receive Treasury grant. Colleges like the Manchester College of Technology and the Merchant Venturers' College at Bristol, in spite of their connection with universities, the Manchester College being the Technological Department of Manchester University, are not university colleges in the conveniently narrower sense. As stated in an earlier paragraph, the recognised university colleges are those of Nottingham, Southampton and Exeter, the comparatively new college at Hull, and the slightly older one at Leicester. On the other hand, the four colleges in Wales—Aberystwyth, Bangor, Cardiff and Swansea—retain the name. Unlike the English colleges, they do not themselves seek to be independent universities, for they form a university, the University of Wales, which apart from them can hardly be said to have a material existence.

The Provincial Universities, except Durham, began as university colleges, and each of the present university colleges aspires to follow in their footsteps, and in due time to become a full university. At present none of them can grant degrees, nor is any one affiliated to a university. Affiliation in fact meets with little favour in universities. It is an indefinite word and the nature and extent of the connection which it may connote may be different on different occasions. The theological college of Lampeter is affiliated with the University of Wales in one sense, Codrington College in Barbados with Durham University in another. Reading when springing up from its lowly position of a university extension centre had links with Oxford, but there was little of the tangible relation of parent and child in them. Thus the university colleges,

unable to offer degrees on their own authority, are bound to use the London University 'external' degrees or be content with diplomas of their own. Before the present constitution of London University was established, the Royal College of Science, now the Imperial College of Science and Technology, issued diplomas of associateship, A.R.C.S., which were held in esteem not inferior to that of the London B.Sc. But university colleges could not in practice pit any diplomas of their own against degrees, issued by universities and recognised as emblems of success in a regulated progress of studies. They must needs sacrifice their independence in order that their students may leave with the accepted standard of graduation.

The external degrees of London, it will be recalled, are open to duly matriculated students in any institution or working privately. The degrees available, the syllabuses of requirements for them and the examinations, are all prescribed and conducted by the external department of London University. Thus the professors and lecturers in the university colleges, however distinguished, have no voice in deciding the requirements for degrees, or, except by accident, in the examinations. Nothing but a certain variety and elasticity in the courses prescribed could make the position tolerable. London University exercises no control save through the examinations. Each college determines what departments of study it should undertake, has its faculties and its professors on the model of a university. None of them embraces so wide a range at present as a university: for example, none has a medical school. It is interesting to note that Reading secured its charter in 1926 substantially because its financial resources were sufficient to guarantee its stability, and it had already a supply of students doing advanced work, but also because those who were responsible wisely limited their projects to what was feasible in their situation. Abandoning all idea of

founding either a Medical or an Engineering School, they concentrated on a sound provision in arts and sciences, with a special department of Agriculture along with departments for Horticulture and Fine Art. The lines of development of the university colleges will probably be different, rather in the direction of a federation of institutions than the establishment of a self-contained university. With Nottingham may be linked Leicester as a parallel, and Loughborough Technical College as the engineering section; with Southampton the Portsmouth Technical College; and with Exeter, Plymouth Technical College and the Agricultural College of Newton Abbot. But the outlook is far from clear.

## vi

The total number of full-time students in the Universities of England and Wales is nearly 40,000. It is estimated that 1 in 16 of pupils leaving grant-earning secondary schools after the age of 14 proceeds to a university; if all secondary schools are included, the proportion is about 1 in 9. Whether this proportion is the right proportion in view of the national needs is arguable, the solution depending on the interpretation of national needs. The professions, including teaching, call for a steady supply of graduates. Industry and commerce absorb a certain number, but not so many as at one time they promised to do. Though at Oxford and Cambridge the leisured classes continue to furnish men, and to a less extent women, who need not be anxious about the future, the large majority of university students in general are training for a career. So of course they were in the mediaeval universities for the most part. Consequently the main business of the universities must be imparting knowledge or instructing the student how to acquire for himself the knowledge he needs. This seems obvious on the face of it, yet no university is content with

being nothing but a dispenser of knowledge. Research is the magic word, and in each department men and women, in the highest posts at least, are expected to work at the extension of knowledge and the communication of the results to the world. The remarkable achievements of science in the last century, and, in another field, the hardly less remarkable discoveries in archaeology, have stimulated the thirst for exploration of both the present and the past. The competing claims of teaching and research are not easy to reconcile; a compromise is inevitable. Some men find themselves able to make an effective combination of most advanced research and real teaching: others modestly are lecturers and tutors only: a few are devoted almost exclusively to research.

Another result of the presence of so many in universities preparing for a career in modern times is the predominance of science departments which include a good deal of technology. Some unkind critics have called the newer universities little more than glorified technical schools. This criticism amounts to a declaration that a university should provide only general culture with no contact with the working world. But common sense distrusts a view which would seem to discountenance the practical instruction of a student of science in the manipulations of a laboratory or a dissection chamber, or the training of a teacher through work in a classroom. The claims of the practical sciences have made themselves felt in the older universities: in Oxford with a School of Forestry, in Cambridge with Engineering; much more are they evident in the local universities, where metallurgy is studied in Sheffield, textiles in Leeds and Manchester, mining in Newcastle and agriculture in Reading. If these practical subjects involve training which is technical, which uses the hands and tools as well as the eyes and books, why, there is no help for it. At least one school of thinkers on education holds that education which does not call for the use

of the hands is incomplete. In any case it is too late in the day for universities to decry certain needs of modern education as 'banausic' in the fashion of ancient Greece. Their function is rather to ascertain and work out the ultimate scientific principles and to base the knowledge of the most 'practical' sciences upon them.

A danger which arises from the situation just sketched is often deplored by critics not only outside but in the universities themselves. That is the danger of over-specialisation. Any honours course is bound to be to some extent specialised, but some subjects, as commonly pursued, admit of a breadth of treatment which may be fairly called 'liberal' or 'cultural', while others do not. The specialist in history is bound to read widely in some directions if narrowly in others; the specialist in physics must be familiar with many branches and cannot go far without the ability to read French and German contributions on his subject. An evil arises when students with no real prospect of being first-class men are eager to take honours courses for which they are not properly qualified: they do not get the valuable training by which abler men can profit and they miss the wider experience which a more generalised course, aiming at the less ambitious goal of a 'pass', would give them. The evil is accentuated when under pressure of competition for scholarships specialisation is begun in the schools and too early. The solution of the problem here raised seems likely to lie in some modification in the sharpness of the distinction between 'pass' and 'honours', and a raising of the dignity of the pass degree. It is felt that the business of a university is to send out men and women with a liberal education, though a liberal education need not be understood as confined to the traditional academic studies: a scientific education may be liberal and cultural without a close acquaintance with the ancient tongues.

## CHAPTER XI

### EDUCATION OUTSIDE THE STATE SYSTEM

The earlier chapters of this book have been concerned principally with education as controlled and financed by the state. But even those who most thoroughly believe in the necessity and the value of the state system would be the last to arrogate to it the attribute of 'national' to the exclusion of other kinds of education. The state system is recent, it has grown piece-meal, and, wide as it is, it is imperfect. The national system of course, if less definite, is far wider; in essence it is ancient in spite of modern developments. It must be held to include colleges and schools, institutions and classes which have either preceded the present series under state control or have grown up side by side with it, and which, like the state system itself, represent what the nation thinks should be covered by education and the aims which education should achieve. It seems desirable, therefore, to survey briefly the very numerous agencies and institutions engaged in education which are wholly or almost wholly outside the purview of education authorities, both central and local. A close examination will show that, independent as they are in origin, in government and administration as in finance, they cannot help being influenced by ideas and movements which have had their rise during the development of the state system itself, and which sometimes are due to official stimulus and suggestion. It would be hard to find a school or college or class that is wholly remote from the currents which have dominated educational thought and even have governed the educational administration of the country. Private initiative and voluntary enterprise

will always, it is to be hoped, act as a criticism and a stimulus to public endeavour, but they cannot be entirely dissociated from the society in which they are exercised.

## i

It is not necessary or desirable to seek a definition of the English national system of education by assigning limits. The universities are obviously national, as was assumed throughout the previous chapter. And their substantial independence of state control no one would seriously challenge. The aid they receive from the Treasury and the services for which they are subsidised by the Board of Education do not bind them to the state system so as to interfere with their essential freedom. They are outside the state system but within the national system properly conceived. In other departments of education there is a kind of dualism, or at least parallelism; side by side with state controlled classes and schools there are classes and schools wholly independent and private. The dualism does not apply to universities for there is no state university, even in Wales where the links between local government and university are perhaps closest. The education of the officers of the Army, Navy and Air Force, at the same level of age, is an apparent but not a real exception, bringing out the force of the generalisation but not impairing its truth.

The higher training for the three great professions of law, medicine and the church seems to stand outside the national system of education, broadly interpreted, as it certainly does stand outside the state system. The conditions of entry into each of these are determined apart from the government and are wholly dissociated from anything like popular control. Yet in theology and medicine at least, and partly so in law, there are numerous cross connections with the national system. Universities have schools of jurisprudence and theological faculties while the great training schools for doctors

are mostly university institutions. If the universities do not themselves formally register medical practitioners, call to the Bar and ordain ministers of religion, they provide a large portion of the specific training upon which admission to the professions depends. The association of the industrial professions, engineering and others, with the national system both through universities and through the technological branch of the Board of Education has already been indicated in a previous chapter.

There is a region of educational activity independent of the state and seldom noticed in surveys of English education, which may appropriately find mention at this point. This is the region of higher commerce, where Chartered Institutes, e.g. of Bankers, Actuaries and Secretaries, watch over and to some extent control the entrance into these professions through qualifying examinations and diplomas. The training and preparation for the professional tests is done partly by the professions themselves (e.g. in Insurance), partly in technical colleges and evening institutes, partly in some of the modern universities, where there are chairs of Commercial Law and Banking, and partly again by private 'coaches'. Some would like to see modern universities undertaking more of this kind of training for commerce and would extend the provision of courses for degrees in commerce in the direction of specific training.

## ii

It is in the sphere of secondary education and in the school education of the upper and middle classes that the duality of the national system is most manifest. It is estimated that of about 600,000 boys and girls in secondary schools, some 432,000 are in state-aided schools and some 250,000 are in schools independent of state and local control. Although the administrative distinction between the two kinds is clear, a

foreign observer is puzzled not only by the nomenclature but also by the odd variety of apparently dissimilar types to which the various names are applied. When a school is called a Public School, though it is neither publicly managed nor by reason of its very high fees really open to the public at large, and another school controlled by a teaching order of nuns is not a private school for it accepts aid and some representation from a L.E.A., while a third drawing its pupils substantially from the same social classes is quite definitely private and proprietary, some misapprehension and confusion are pardonable. The best service to be rendered by a chapter on schools outside the state system is to describe the leading features of several of the principal groups and to show how they are related to the state organisation, if at all, and how far they ought to be considered as helping to constitute the national system of education.

The Public School is well understood by the English people. Eton and Harrow are as familiar as Oxford and Cambridge. We may leave aside the ancient disputes as to which schools have a prescriptive right to the title, and take it for granted that not only Cheltenham and Clifton, Stonyhurst and Kingswood, but also new schools like Stowe can be included. They are all independent and self-governing and they neither need nor solicit aid from state or local authority. They are nearly all boarding schools and non-local. A few like St Paul's and the City of London are attended chiefly by boys in or near London: but Merchant Taylors (following the example of Charterhouse and Christ's Hospital) has recently moved out to a distant suburb and has become partially residential. The fees of the boarding schools are high, and there is much competition to secure admission.

Allied to what may be fairly called the Public School system is that of Preparatory Schools. They began to grow up towards the end of the last century when the Public Schools

under pressure of numbers were obliged to refuse very young boys. Preparatory Schools are usually small and are also usually set up in the country or at the seaside, though St Paul's has one near the school itself, and there are a few other similar examples. A Common Entrance Examination, established in 1903, must be passed at or about thirteen and the Preparatory Schools restrict their aims to preparation for this and, for the abler boys, for the scholarships offered by the Public Schools. At the same time they not only try to give a sound grounding in the elements of the usual school subjects but to pay special attention to health and exercise, with good food. They are naturally expensive.

Public Schools and Preparatory Schools do not constitute so close a corporation as perhaps what is said above might seem to imply. The Headmasters' Conference, founded by Edward Thring in 1873, includes the heads of the Public Schools, but it also admits heads of the great town Grammar Schools; to be a Conference School, a school must have a regular connection with Oxford and Cambridge, habitually sending its sixth form boys to the universities. Some of the schools, for example Bradford Grammar School and St Olave's, Southwark, are decidedly part of the state system though they are aided by Parliamentary grant and rates but not entirely controlled by the L.E.A. So also while the Preparatory School Association consists mostly of non-local schools with few links except with the large Public Schools, there are numerous suburban private schools which are preparatory for secondary schools in general, private or public, but not so closely tied to the Common Entrance Examination. These are better discussed in a later section.

The education of girls has little to show exactly corresponding to the Public Schools with their auxiliary Preparatory Schools as a system. There is not, of course, the same length of tradition. Certain schools like Roedean and

Wycombe Abbey are independent foundations: certain others such as St Paul's Girls' School and the City of London Girls' School are associated with the parallel Boys' Schools, as are certain Girls' Grammar Schools with town Boys' Grammar Schools. These and certain Company's schools might be called Public Schools for girls, but that name has not in fact attached itself to them. For the most part they do not depend for their pupils, as do the Public Boarding Schools, upon a body of schools specifically devoted to preparatory work and no other. There is no Common Entrance Examination and many of the schools have junior or preparatory departments of their own. Thus there is no Headmistresses' Conference and no Preparatory Schools' Association parallel to those of schools for boys. The Headmistresses' Association embraces the heads of girls' secondary schools, whether private or public. In short there is no Public School system for girls in the same sense as there may be said to be a Public School system for boys. With few exceptions the large girls' schools are much less well endowed than are schools for boys and many of the most eminent accept a direct grant from the Board of Education or are aided by the L.E.A.

A striking phenomenon of the present century has been the breaking down of the old isolation of the Public Schools. They are no longer to the same extent a class remote from the rough and tumble of popular education. So to say, they have come out into the open, admitted their consanguinity with the grammar and other secondary schools, defended themselves under criticism and expounded the Public School tradition of which they are legitimately proud. Their supremacy in many directions has been frankly acknowledged and their spirit and practices have been as frankly imitated in girls' schools, in secondary schools of all kinds and even within the more modest range of the elementary schools. The imitation is no mere straining after an artificial reproduction

of the machinery of a Public School under conditions widely dissimilar but a sincere attempt to create a corporate spirit and a type of liberal training in their way as genuine as the original. The Public Schools by reason of their history are still the schools of the wealthy, and the educational ladder does not pass through them; but they are no longer as it were schools for nobles, aloof in sentiment as in situation from the community as a whole. They are essentially a part of English national education.

## iii

Although the Public Schools and Preparatory Schools are 'private' in the sense of being outside the state system of education in England and Wales, the word private school is not applied to them in common parlance but rather to the very large number of schools, for boys and girls alike, which are the personal property of one or a few individuals, or a community and, as such, have no share in Parliamentary grant. The Act of 1902 authorised the new L.E.A.'s to take into account schools of all kinds, including those under private management, in estimating the needs of an area, and private schools as well as Endowed Schools and Public Schools were included in the larger surveys of Mr M. E. Sadler. But in fact private schools, as usually known, were for the most part little considered. The Public Schools, perhaps naturally, stood apart from an estimate by the L.A.E. of its responsibilities in secondary education, as they do still. The endowed and grammar schools were soon incorporated in the local system, the majority of them through representative governors and by financial aid. Thus in London, St Paul's, Westminster, the City of London School and Merchant Taylors remained outside the L.C.C. scheme, but a large number of schools, many of some antiquity, like St Olave's, the Stationers' School and the Central Foundation School, came in as aided schools.

Most of the latter had for long received government grants through their science departments from South Kensington. Their entrance into the county system, with all that this implied of connection with elementary schools by scholarships and free places, and also by some kind of public control, not only prevented the misfortune of a quasi-school board secondary organisation, isolated from the independent secondary schools of the well-to-do, but added a dignity as well as a variety to secondary education under direct or indirect popular management.

But this course of action marked off more decisively the private schools, on the whole to their detriment, or to the detriment of public education broadly conceived. They take legitimate pride in their freedom from interference and bureaucratic control, in the intimate personal relationships that masters and mistresses maintain with parents and pupils, in the opportunities of training in manners and character which their privacy affords and which are less generally available in the mixed communities of more public schools, and in the feeling that they satisfy the reasonable desires of a body of parents who are willing to pay for a kind of education they prefer. The isolation of the private schools brings with it certain disadvantages: their pupils cannot profit by scholarships open only to pupils of state-aided schools; the teachers do not come under the Superannuation Acts; their financial situation may be unstable and they have no L.E.A. to fall back upon; they rarely have endowments through which their distinguished scholars can be helped to a university education; they do not to a large extent employ trained teachers and they have no training organisation of their own.

The variety of the private secondary schools is not always realised. A broad distinction may be drawn between those which have a body of responsible governors, though they may not be under Charitable Trusts, and those which are the

personal property of a single individual, commonly the head teacher, a partnership or a family. The best examples of the first class are schools conducted by a religious community or society. These indeed range from schools like Downside and Kingswood, which are Public Schools, down to small convent schools. The type we have in mind is rather parallel in aims and achievements to the grammar and other state-aided secondary schools, aiming at the First Schools Examination and even from time to time sending a pupil to the university. As has been said on an earlier page, some of the convent schools are part of the state-aided system, e.g. in Manchester and Liverpool. But for the most part these schools are not. Nor are certain schools established by societies to propagate certain educational doctrines and practices, e.g. the King Alfred School at Hampstead. Grouped with these from the point of view of management, though humbler in scope, may be named schools established for benevolent purposes such as the Warehousemen's Schools and the Commercial Travellers' Schools, a type which met with scorn from Matthew Arnold as offering the wrong sort of lower middle class education. An odd example of a private school under governors is the City Freemen's School, which, though conducted by the Corporation of London, is not a L.E.A. school. The schools of the Girls' Public Day Schools Trust (G.P.D.S.) and the Church Schools Company are frequently schools aided by Direct Grant from the Board of Education.

There is no complete census of other private schools, those, that is, under the personal management of the principals. They are the property of the owners who are under no legal obligation to L.E.A.'s or parents to maintain them and who cannot be compelled to change or to close them. A number of them unite to form the Independent Schools Association to watch over their interests. The name Independent replaced the original name Private, which it was felt was apt to suggest

an unpleasant exclusiveness. The term proprietary is also applied, and it is strictly accurate, but in the minds of some it has acquired a derogatory sense, as if the proprietary school were always a species of commercial enterprise, undertaken for gain and money-making only. It may be remarked that Public Schools like Clifton were called 'proprietary' at the time of the Schools Inquiry Commission in the 'sixties because they belonged to the promoters and were not ancient endowed foundations. In the present hard times independent school-masters rightly resent the imputation of profit-hunting; they are only too pleased if they make a living.

These schools are varied in scope. Some are preparatory only, though not so closely linked with the Public Schools as the type previously described. Many are in towns and suburbs, charging moderate fees and having few or no boarding arrangements. Others though mainly preparatory keep a certain proportion up to sixteen or seventeen and have in view training for a business career, with or without the First Schools Examination. They claim with much justification to be able to deal successfully with boys whose health is delicate or whose earlier education from any cause has been retarded. Others again are honourable survivals or present-day representatives of the kind of private schools that, in the days when endowed schools had not yet awakened from the torpor of the early or middle nineteenth century, supplied the needs of the middle classes, and formed the nucleus of the College of Preceptors. These schools have fared badly at the hands of novelists and of critics like the commissioners of the Schools Inquiry as well as Arnold and Mr H. G. Wells. But there were schools where solid work was accomplished without pretentiousness and it is to be estimated that the charlatanism so often scathingly exposed has few examples to-day.

The private girls' schools are much less secluded than they were, but they tend to be complete in themselves, with their

own preparatory departments and their own upper forms. Something of the older type of 'finishing school' remains and many still lay stress on the musical education they offer as a kind of accomplishment appropriate for young ladies. But again large numbers are virtually the private counterparts of schools which are fully in the public system. One thing it is safe to generalise about. The very private school described by Herbert Spencer, confined to a genteel and rigid but inactive isolation, is surely extinct. Fresh air, games, dancing and a healthy life are now taken for granted as essential to a girl's education.

Mention should be made of the very numerous Kindergartens which exist, if they do not flourish, in towns and residential districts. Their quality no doubt varies. In a quiet way many of them keep abreast of good modern methods and give a sound 'infant' training. Some few, as in the shocking cases a little while ago reported in the Press, are little more than baby-farms. The majority, however, of the small boys and girls one sees flitting from home to school and back do not appear to be badly treated. The scandals mentioned affected not the usual kindergarten but schools which boarded young children. In suburban kindergartens the chief defect is probably structural, for the dwelling rooms of a not very large house are not built with light and air enough to be good classrooms even for a small handful of children.

The Board of Education took a wise course early in their history in not limiting their function of inspecting secondary schools, conferred upon them by the Act of 1899, to schools which were in direct connection with L.E.A.'s. The new body of secondary inspectors evolved a procedure of full inspections, which they applied regularly to schools receiving state aid,

but also extended to other schools which desired to be inspected. Thus a large number of Public Schools and many independent or private schools have been officially inspected at their own request. The Board issue from time to time a list of Efficient Secondary Schools, that is of schools inspected by the Board's officers and judged to be fulfilling the conditions upon which secondary schools are recognised as such and, if otherwise eligible, are entitled to receive Parliamentary grant. On this list appear not only county secondary schools and grammar schools aided by the state, but also schools like Harrow and Malvern and private schools. Schools which do not provide the normal course of four years between twelve and sixteen or seventeen are not 'efficient' in this sense; and the guarantee of efficiency when bestowed on private schools which are recognised naturally includes a guarantee that the instruction is sound. In 1917 the Board also took cognizance of Preparatory Schools and added a separate list of Preparatory Schools duly inspected and approved. This recognition is by no means confined to the type of residential Preparatory Schools described in a previous section; a town school aspiring ultimately to develop into a full secondary school may meantime be recognised and tested as a preparatory school. Thus by the participation in the inspection work of the central authority many varied types of independent schools become associated in a formal manner with the national system. The association is confirmed by the fact that these schools are regularly represented in the Teachers' Registration Council.

Many schools, however, remain in a real sense outside the community of schools which may be called the national system. There is a mass of obscurer private schools, with hardly even a local reputation, about which the public, and with the public the Associations of Independent and Preparatory Schools have begun to be exercised. The concern

centres rather on the hygienic conditions under which children are taught than on their educational efficiency, though the latter is not overlooked. Certain scandals in 1930 provoked the Government to set up a Departmental Committee on Private Schools, the Report of which appeared in the summer of 1932. The Committee deliberately restricted itself to 'private schools' in the common meaning and to children of the legal ages for which instruction is obligatory. Some natural alarm was felt lest the establishment of the Committee might foreshadow some drastic governmental action and some invasion of the independence which private schools claim to exercise. The Report was perhaps unexpectedly mild. Inspection indeed was recommended to be conducted either by the Board or by the L.E.A.; it was to be of a liberal kind and not to be standardised in any official way, to be concerned with seeing that the health conditions of the schools were satisfactory and that the education complied with the legal requirements which govern compulsory elementary schooling. Powers were to be given to the L.E.A. to close a totally unsatisfactory school after due warning. But several weaknesses upon which critics have laid stress were left untouched. There was to be no interference with the freedom of any individual, however ill-qualified, to open a school, though if inspection came into force the owner would run a certain risk. Nor did the Committee advise any conditions regarding the qualifications of any teachers employed. Thus the situation remains unchanged, though the question has been to some extent ventilated. Legislation would be required to bestow upon the Board and the L.E.A.'s the powers which would be needed to carry out even these mild recommendations to the full; and the Board are unwilling to incur the cost of a survey by inspection which would seem to be a necessary preliminary to any concerted action.

## CHAPTER XII

### THE TEACHING BODY

In 1934 it is possible to speak of a teaching body without forcing a general term to cover very heterogeneous particulars, and of a teaching profession without appearing to be pretentious. Fifty years ago lecturers and tutors in universities and masters in Public Schools would not have relished being included in the same scholastic world as teachers of a humbler sort. But alongside of the co-ordination of schools which is our national system of education, there has developed a co-ordination of those who teach. Teaching is not yet a profession, closed like the legal and medical professions, self-determining and self-governing, and, considering the indefinable nature of the craft neither will be nor should be. But, in a sense not previously reached, teachers form a body conscious of the same ideals and interests, and united by many common sympathies. It is not a hierarchy with ranks out of which no one may step; one may find former pupil-teachers and elementary scholars on the staffs of Public Schools and universities and highly educated and qualified women teaching in elementary infants' schools and nursery schools. The Royal Society of Teachers with its Registration Council works towards a union of teachers of all grades and seeks to establish a definite status, to be publicly understood and recognised, for those who, in spite of their divergences, are engaged in a common task, and who possess qualifications, training and experience adequate for the purpose. The Society does not at present include all the teaching body, and it puts forward no extravagant claims to authority over the profession it represents. But its success, amid many difficulties, is an indication that teachers are uniting and a promise that a national

system of education will have as an essential corollary a national corporation of those who teach in it.

It would be impossible to give to an enquiring foreigner a succinct account of the teaching body in England and Wales. He would find, perhaps to his astonishment, that there is no such thing as a general licence to teach; there is nothing in legislation, public or local, to prevent anyone from opening a school. In fact there is very little legislation at all about teachers as a whole. In one large department, that of public elementary schools, it is true there are official regulations which are definite enough, but outside these schools the standard of staffing, and the qualifications of teachers are either determined by tradition, emphasised by public opinion and official pressure, or are left undetermined. The exigencies of practical necessity govern that extensive series of institutions and classes which come under the head of Further Education, in technical schools, evening institutes, works' schools and the like; no cut and dried scheme of approving teachers would be feasible, and in any event, an incompetent teacher is soon deserted by his voluntary class. The standard of schools in the public service partly influences the private schools that are in competition with them. But in many schools, not susceptible to public opinion and outside all official supervision, incompetence may reign unchecked. Dr Blimber and Mr Creakle are not quite extinct and it is to be feared that their humbler counterparts still lurk in certain quarters.

## i

The teachers in public elementary schools must be treated first, because the conditions of appointment are clearer and more easily described than those of teachers in other spheres. Up to 1890 the elementary system was virtually self-contained. Access to it was available only through the elementary school. The intelligent and ambitious pupil be-

came a pupil-teacher, was annually examined on a prescribed syllabus, and at the end of his four or five years qualified by the Queen's Scholarship Examination for a post as assistant teacher, or if he were in the first or second class for admission to a training college. The colleges, which were mostly denominational and all residential, could take in only a relatively small proportion of the thousands qualified and those who failed to obtain admission became assistant uncertificated teachers. The successful passed two years in college and came out Certificated Teachers, competent to take charge of schools as well as to serve under head teachers similarly qualified. A certain number of uncertificated teachers annually qualified for the Certificate by entering for the same examination but without training. The history of this elementary system is the liberalising and widening of the narrow course of training by links with universities and a close connection with secondary schools.

The first great step was in 1890 when, as the outcome of the Cross Commission (1886), day students were admissible to residential colleges, and day training colleges were approved in universities and university colleges; students in the new training departments might read for degrees, as, under conditions, students in residential colleges also were allowed to do. This remarkable departure from the older practice had two fortunate results. First, it created a supply of graduate teachers, who took service at once in the higher grade schools, pupil-teacher centres and the other schools which were springing up outside the elementary schools proper, and to some extent in public elementary schools themselves. Second, as the movement grew in popularity, the university training departments increased and furnished a welcome supply of students to the rising provincial universities. When after 1902, staffs were immediately necessary for the new secondary schools, the young graduates were available in considerable numbers.

Such was the demand in the L.E.A. secondary schools that university trained graduates, as well as those who graduated in the ordinary training colleges, though they were ostensibly trained for elementary schools, found no difficulty in obtaining posts in secondary schools. In return for the personal grants given to students in training the Board required an undertaking that the recipient would teach in an approved school. But approval was wisely not limited to elementary schools and no objection was raised to service in secondary schools. Thus, in a left-handed way, the secondary schools were largely staffed with teachers with elementary antecedents and a further real bond of connection between the two grades of schools was confirmed.

Linked up with this movement was a series of changes in the recruitment of young pupil-teachers in 1903 and 1907. The general aim in 1903 was to broaden the earlier stages of the education of future teachers by raising the age of apprenticeship to sixteen, by limiting active teaching service to half-time,—it had once been thirteen—by encouraging pupil-teacher centres, and more than all, by urging that before apprenticeship the boys and girls should be educated in secondary schools. It was now possible to contemplate the disappearance of the pupil-teacher system in its original form. In 1907 an alternative was put forward. The boy or girl in a secondary school, who was an ‘intending teacher’, might remain to seventeen or eighteen as a ‘bursar’, and at the end of the bursarship period, during which he was attending the secondary school full-time, either proceed straight to a training college or become for one year a student-teacher, employed as to half his time in learning his business in an elementary school, and as to the remaining half, receiving further instruction in a secondary school. The exact division of the time between teaching and being taught varied in different areas, as it still does. The bursar and student-teacher

plan gradually superseded the older practice and is now universal save in some rural areas: but the pupil-teacher practice died hard in one or two places. Coincident with the development of the modern system, the former examination for entry into colleges—the Queen's, later the King's Scholarship Examination—was changed. After 1922 intending teachers within secondary schools were to qualify for college through one of the University Local Examinations; a Preliminary Examination for the Certificate replaced the King's Scholarship examination for pupil-teachers and others outside secondary schools, and in its turn this Preliminary Examination Certificate was abolished in 1928: since that date rural pupil-teachers qualify by a special scheme enabling them to use the First Schools Examination under special conditions.

Thus died the remarkable English institution of pupil-teachership. Matthew Arnold in his Report on continental systems in 1864 had called pupil-teachers 'the sinews of English primary instruction'. So they were when he wrote. There was nothing exactly like them in France or Germany, but, on the other hand, French and German teachers instructed large schools of 80 to 100 children of all ages above six without help. The monitorial idea from which the pupil-teacher system in part developed had this much of soundness, that it implied small classes; when as a system it was moribund, the standards of Lowe's Code resuscitated it and introduced the English conception of an annual syllabus to be covered year by year. The unit of the English method was the class or 'standard', not the school. At a time when adult teachers were few and relatively expensive, Lowe's Code, with its inevitable subdivisions could not have been carried out without a teacher of some sort to each class in schools of any size. And the pupil-teachers, in however modest a way, were qualified. The system had merits which those who regret its disappearance

do not fail to insist upon. It gave future teachers a technique in both discipline and instruction. When mature they could 'handle a class', for the weaklings had dropped out on the way. They were accustomed to work hard in their schools and in their studies alike. In many schools, and those often of humble pretensions, there was a kindly, almost filial, relationship between master and mistress and the family of pupil-teachers, and the personal contact with a head teacher of character and good sense was no element to be despised in what otherwise was a strenuous career. But, valuable as it may have been in the past, the system is indefensible to-day. It set children to teach children. Children do, of course, teach other children every day at home and in play with admirable effect. But young pupil-teachers had charge of classes, taught all day, and were expected to bring their pupils up to an adequate standard. The 'teaching' was commonly instruction of the most mechanical kind, effective up to a point, but rarely reaching beyond competent drill, and in the meantime the youthful teacher's own education was acutely suffering. When the plan was instituted by Kay-Shuttleworth, though there were objections to its continental origin, no one challenged the idea of apprenticeship. Like the practice of payment by results, it chimed in with the views of the age. Early apprenticeship was natural; the textile trades of the country and agriculture would be ruined if children did not learn to spin or weave, or to work in the fields long before their teens. 'Inured' was a favourite term of the time; pupil-teachers became inured to teaching. It is worth while remarking that at the present day the discarded monitorial and apprenticeship ideas show signs of revival: the most modern methods of teaching do not exclude the possibility of children helping each other, and there is a strong feeling that in the training of teachers a new form of what is substantially apprenticeship should be encouraged. But both monitorial plan and pupil-

teachership in their old and essential shapes are happily dead beyond recall.

Side by side with the changes affecting young teachers and connected closely with them were other phenomena and movements, all bearing on the effort to create a full and well-qualified staff of teachers for elementary schools. The Education Department before 1900 and more decidedly the Board of Education after 1900 set themselves to reduce the size of classes and to increase the number of certificated and trained teachers. The details of the various stages in the progress are now of little interest. A staffing scale was introduced in 1882 and a limit was placed on the size of classes in 1897. Both these requirements were gradually strung up and at the same time the numbers of totally unqualified teachers were materially reduced and pupil- or student-teachers ceased to 'count' on the staff. In the Revised Regulations (the Code) of 1926 scales disappeared entirely: it became absurd to particularise to large L.E.A.'s how they should dispose of their staffs and since 1926 the staffing arrangements in an area are judged as a whole. As to size of classes, the maximum aimed at for a time was sixty on the roll: it is now fifty and as statistics show, the number of classes with more than fifty is annually being reduced. The extent of this quiet reform can be realised only by comparing all the staffing figures for 1900 with those for 1931. The schools are by no means all supplied with fully certificated teachers, and the uncertificated and even the supplementary teachers are likely to be retained for some time, fulfilling a useful if not an ideal function in the humbler spheres in which they are still employed. The long-standing Certificate Examination by which the untrained uncertificated teacher gained the certificate was dropped after 1926.

The provision of training colleges had remained substantially unchanged since about 1850, for the University Training Departments, popular though they were becoming, held out no certain prospects of furnishing a steady stream of teachers who would serve in elementary schools. In any case, as has been said, the new graduates were rapidly absorbed in the secondary schools as they were increased after 1902. The need for more teachers threatened to be urgent. The Act of 1902 gave the L.E.A.'s power, by a clause expressly inserted in the Act, to train teachers; but they were soon so deeply committed to expenditure on schools, elementary and secondary, that they could not afford to build training colleges. In 1907 the Board at the instance of the Liberal Government announced that they would pay three-quarters of the cost of establishing L.E.A. training colleges and a number of active L.E.A.'s took advantage of the grant almost at once. As many as twenty-two L.E.A. colleges were founded in most cases in entirely new buildings. They served a double purpose. For not only did they make it possible to secure a permanently enlarged provision of certificated and trained teachers, but they finally removed the old grievance that Nonconformist candidates could with difficulty become trained. All but a few of the existing two-year colleges were denominational and, in spite of regulations which ostensibly opened them to all comers under a conscience clause, they were ordinarily not attended by persons not of the denomination of the college. The new L.E.A. colleges were undenominational like the L.E.A. schools, and they had the further advantage in the eyes of those who still looked askance at the Act of 1902 of being under public management.

The position thus reached before the War has remained undisturbed in its general features since the conclusion of

hostilities and the resumption of normal conditions. The numbers in the University Training Departments have increased and there is a longer and a steadier flow of graduates from them into the elementary service. The two types of colleges, voluntary and L.E.A., which normally train teachers in a two-year course, continue, but, as will shortly be shown, with much closer connections with both schools in the national system and with universities than was the case before 1902. The most striking general movement in training college organisation has been in the Church of England colleges, which are now more directly under the supervision of the National Assembly of the Church, losing some of their independence as diocesan institutions though retaining an intimate diocesan interest. It has been found desirable to close two large colleges and to concentrate attention on re-building two others on fresh sites as well as effecting improvements and enlargements in others. Within the period since the War also, a Roman Catholic college for men, a Wesleyan college for women and an undenominational college for women have been transferred from their old cramped situations in congested town areas to new buildings specially designed or adapted nearer the open country; a fourth voluntary college, undenominational and for women, is shortly to follow these examples.

It will be clear from what has been said that the external framework of the English training system as it concerns elementary teachers is now more or less stable. It has not escaped criticism. Some reformers would work for the staffing of elementary schools wholly with graduates, passed through universities and trained. Others would restrict training to the strictly professional preparation of teachers whose academic preparation has been completed elsewhere, and would therefore confine the training course to one year. An important Departmental Committee reporting in 1925

examined the question as a whole, but did not recommend any radical change in the mode of recruitment; an influential minority, indeed, urged that the special grants hitherto devoted not only to the professional training of intending teachers but also to their academic training, even from entry into secondary schools, should cease and be merged in the general scholarship schemes of L.E.A.'s—that the profession should no longer be bounty fed; but the Committee as a whole refused to accept the revolutionary proposal and contented themselves with suggestions that the special bursaries in secondary schools up to the age of sixteen for young people intending to become teachers should be abandoned. The Board accepted the recommendations of the majority and thus a recognised student in training, whether in a two-year college or in a University Training Department, is eligible for grants-in-aid for maintenance and tuition during the whole period for which he is recognised.

The reluctance of the Departmental Committee to disturb the existing general framework of the system of training was due chiefly to fears concerning the supply of teachers. The problem of supply had been quiescent for forty years. At the time when almost the only chance of obtaining a further education open to the aspiring elementary school boy or girl was through pupil-teachership, there was no fear that the profession would need artificial recruitment. The number of pupil-teachers was so great that, when the ambitious had left teaching for some career more promising and the failures had disappeared, there was still no shortage. But when after 1903 the path to teaching led through the secondary school, the supply diminished. The Board and the L.E.A.'s grew alarmed. Hence the earmarking of intending teachers among the entrants to secondary schools by means of the bursaries mentioned above. The shortage was growing acute before the War and the fears of a recurrence undoubtedly affected the

Departmental Committee after the War. Added to the apprehensions was the obvious desire to keep up and increase the number of certificated teachers and to diminish that of unqualified and half-qualified, that large mass whose existence had disguised the real needs of the schools; and not without influence was the feeling that the open market idea would seriously stand in the way of one of the principal careers open to elementary scholars and free-placers. Of late years the problem of supply has taken on a new phase, for one result of unemployment in industry and commerce has been largely to increase the candidates for training colleges, so that they begin to approximate in numbers to those which used to offer themselves for the Queen's Scholarship examination. When Sir Charles Trevelyan was President of the Board of Education, he hoped to get through Parliament a bill to raise the age of compulsory education to fifteen, and in order to have the additional supply of teachers that would be required he authorised a special increase in the admissions to training colleges. He failed, as was described in an earlier chapter, and the extra number of teachers thus trained have not been rapidly absorbed. A further factor affecting supply has been the knowledge that the school population of the country, increasing after the War, would considerably decrease in the next few years and that fewer teachers would be required. In addition the financial crisis of 1931 with its call for economy prevented any expansion of the teaching service through smaller classes. At the time of writing (1934) the Board have felt obliged to reduce somewhat the numbers permitted to be trained, and therefore available for service in the elementary schools.

## iii

After the foregoing account of the changes in the supply and in the provision of training of teachers in elementary schools effected in the last forty years, it will be convenient to describe certain developments in the internal organisation of the colleges and to add a note on types of training which formed no part of the process as it was understood in the last century. As has been already said, the first breach in the older tradition was made in 1890 when Day Training Departments were instituted and when permission was given to residential students to read for stages of degrees. Important consequences followed. Hitherto the whole course of training, from early pupil-teachership up to certification, had borne a close resemblance to the work for the standards in the elementary school; and a prescribed syllabus with an annual examination offering little opportunity for variation had been the rule. The rigidity was necessarily relaxed for students reading for degrees and in due course greater freedom was allowed to the majority who were still examined by the central office in the Final Examination for Training Colleges. At the same time a third year was added to the usual two for selected students in the residential and for most students in the University Training Departments. The universities established diplomas in education and thus freed themselves from close control on the professional as they were naturally free on the academic side of training. Other alternative examinations were gradually recognised by the Board in place of their own final test in ordinary training colleges and the Board's test itself with the syllabus on which it was based admitted of far more liberty than had been accorded the colleges in earlier days. Finally in 1926—for the intermediate steps need not be particularised—the Board decided to give up their own examination entirely and to accept in its place examinations conducted by Regional

Boards into which the various colleges could be grouped; the Regional Boards were to be composed of representatives of the colleges, universities and L.E.A.'s with H.M. Inspectors in an advisory capacity. This delegation of powers so long exercised by the Board was part of a deliberate policy, applied, as has been mentioned, to other examinations also. It was desired not only to give a voice to the staffs of the colleges but also to associate with the colleges the L.E.A.'s as the prospective employers of the teachers under training and the universities. The Board do not wholly surrender the power of certifying teachers for the elementary service; leaving the details of the actual test with the syllabuses to the Regional Boards, they exercise a general superintendence through an advisory committee and through their own inspectors, and thus preserve an equitable standard which is not stereotyped.

The association of training colleges with universities is not confined to the participation of both in Regional Boards. At first after 1890 selected teachers in training necessarily took the London external degrees, the only ones for which they were eligible. Durham introduced a new procedure, whereby students in colleges within reach sent qualified students in for Durham degrees. The question of residence and attendance at lectures was easy, for there were three colleges in Durham city itself and Newcastle and the one outside, at Darlington, sent individual women for a third year to a hostel in Durham. All this was before 1900; since then the Durham Colleges have been almost a part of the university, so far as students capable of pursuing degree courses are concerned. In a similar way, but much later, students in training colleges in Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham have been linked with the universities. Since the War the London colleges have also been admitted into the university circle to the extent that their students proposing to graduate are attached to one or other of the constitueht colleges of the university and now

can take the internal degrees. One London college, Westminster, has ceased to admit ordinary two-year students and has become virtually a training hostel for men who take the whole of their academic work in a college of the university.

The steady growth of the practice of training graduates has not been without its difficulties. In the University Training Departments the chief of these was the strain of combining with the pursuit of degree courses the professional preparation for teaching. The admission of 'education' as a degree subject in some universities only partially eased the pressure. Both sides of the training suffered, and perhaps the professional side the most. In 1911 the Board, which had set up a special branch to deal with the training of teachers, announced their readiness to pay grants for four years instead of three, on the condition that the last year was to be devoted to training proper, that is, it was to be post-graduate training. All the University Training Departments fell into line in due course and now the four-year course is the normal procedure; it has been recently permitted to the training departments of university colleges.

At this point a comment on the certification so often mentioned in these pages will be relevant. The Certificate was originally an authorisation, obtained by examination in both academic and professional subjects, to take charge of an elementary school receiving government grants. As certificated assistant teachers increased in number, it became the diploma of the elementary teacher in general, advanced on suitable occasions with legitimate pride. As such it had a staff and salary value. For long it could be obtained only through an elementary training college or by passing the parallel special examination for 'acting' teachers not under training; when the University Training Departments began, their students were examined by the Board in principles of teaching like the rest. The acceptance of alternative examina-

tions by the Board in place of their own gave the certificate a new meaning. It no longer connoted a fixed kind of training and a uniform test through which its possessors had passed, but rather a licence to teach. It lost the specific application to the elementary school. Half of the teachers in state-aided secondary schools are trained, and the large majority of them either hold the actual certificate or, on the strength of their diplomas, could obtain it if they wished on application to the Board. Yet the Certificate, or licence to teach, is neither required by the Board nor required by governing bodies as a condition of appointment in any schools, save elementary schools. In the latest and most elastic Regulations, those of 1926, the Board do not relinquish the requirement that the standard qualification of a teacher in an elementary school is the certificate. The principal reasons for retaining the condition have been no doubt the vast numbers of children in elementary schools and the fact that as the Board are bound to see that compulsory education is carried out, they are therefore bound not to let it fail through lack of suitable teachers. The Certificate affords a guarantee that the great service of elementary education is performed by persons competent for the task.

The Certificate has always been a licence to teach in general and never an authorisation which limited the holder to a particular type of school, stage or subject. But women students have been usually roughly divided into those who wish to teach younger children and those who prefer the senior classes and, since choice of subjects was permitted, have elected to study what was most appropriate for their purpose. After the War certain colleges, devoting themselves to the teaching of younger children, primarily on the lines advocated by Froebel, have been officially recognised by the Board and the special examination for the certificate of the National Froebel Union has been accepted as qualifying

under conditions for the Board's Certificate. So also a few colleges which train more specifically for nursery schools have been absorbed in the national system of training. There are in addition colleges which train teachers of handicraft and domestic subjects, and recently a college to train instructors in physical training. Handicraft teachers specially trained in colleges possess the general Certificate: other teachers of handicraft earn recognised certificates of competency in their own subject. All these examples illustrate the variety of the system of training which is not inconsistent with unity of aim and service.

It might be supposed that the Hadow reorganisation would materially affect the training of teachers and possibly the supply. But in fact no disturbance has occurred. The Board have not found it necessary to relax their requirement of certificated teachers for elementary schools and the conditions under which the certificate can now be acquired are elastic enough to permit the variety in training and in attainment which the post-primary schools demand.

## iv

The training of secondary school teachers has had a chequered history in England and Wales. In the later years of the last century the question was canvassed from time to time, but the need for some kind of professional training was not commonly recognised by men teachers at all. The association of training with what was known of the elementary training colleges was most unfortunate. It seemed to imply a narrow and specific preparation on the academic side and a training in rigid technique together with a study of cloudy psychology and dull theory on the professional. The graduate did not need the former and the 'practical' man had no use for the latter. The 'certificated teacher' in the eyes of the public and

grammar school master was a type entirely unacceptable. Women, at that time not yet fully admitted to academic equality with men, were less prejudiced. A few pioneers started training institutions for women, like the Maria Grey Training College. They were rather fascinated than repelled by the study of psychology in its bearing upon teaching and they had few traditions regarding old established methods of instruction. The Board of Education took no overt steps to encourage training for secondary schools till 1908 and even then this kind of training was treated as something intrinsically different from the training appropriate for teachers in a lower sphere. There was some reason for the distinction at the time; for the avowed purpose of the elementary training college was to fit the teacher for the general teaching of all subjects to a class, whereas to a large extent in secondary schools the teachers were specialists and needed a training with experience and practice applicable to specialists in one or a small group of subjects. The University Training Departments took up training for secondary schools but were neither able nor willing to make a sharp discrimination between the two types. Moreover, as has been already said, the students trained in the Elementary Training Department were very readily absorbed in the rising secondary schools. In fact secondary training, if not under that name, was firmly established in the universities, though subsidised by grants which ostensibly were voted for elementary training only. The education diplomas were the same for all who sought them, with no essential differences. In 1926 the Board, which had tacitly acquiesced in the actual fusion of the two kinds of training in universities, openly abolished all distinctions and qualifications in their regulations and officially treated the process of training as one process, and all the training institutions of which they took cognizance, as university or other, secondary or elementary, as training colleges *sans phrase*. In consonance

with the general spirit of the 1926 series of simplified Regulations, details and particulars were left to the colleges. The Board retain some provisions regarding the length of school practice, as a condition of recognition, but they accept the University Diplomas in Education without question and without control or supervision. The old feeling against training persists in many distinguished quarters, and it takes the form especially of a distrust of the theory and the philosophy of education, and of training institutions in general. But an alternative scheme of school-centred training, in which a kind of probationership in teaching is recognised and subsidised, has met with little favour in schools for which it was designed. The question of training has been administratively simplified and many anomalies have been removed: but the whole question is still a matter of controversy, while teachers in training fill the training departments and pass steadily into the schools.

We have dealt so far with institutions specially devoted to the training of teachers. But it must not escape notice that a very great amount of what is emphatically 'training', that is, contributes by deliberate effort to the professional efficiency of the teachers, has taken place apart from the recognised colleges and their sessional courses. The reluctance of many to accept the principle of preparatory training has by no means been an intransigent opposition to attempts to improve the content and quality of teaching. During the whole of the period with which this book deals, there have been animated discussions on what should be taught in schools and what methods should be pursued. The whole curriculum in fact has been examined and re-examined, and rival schools of thought have contended in conferences, in common rooms and in print. The comparative stagnation and apathy of previous generations have mostly vanished and the resultant interest has done a great deal to spread the community of

feeling which marks a united profession. Holiday courses, short and long, and teachers' classes have been the principal means of instruction, and the Board have not only aided such courses and classes but have also organised them and conducted them by their own officers. Nor have the teachers in other institutions than secondary schools been backward, week-end conferences being a favourite and convenient method of spreading knowledge and criticism. The residential universities, too, have frequently welcomed bodies of teachers in conference within their colleges in the vacations. It is clear that, whatever shape the preparatory training of a teacher may take, the principles and the methods of teaching are a matter of life-long study and that this is training in the fullest and most serviceable sense.

## v

The position of teachers in the national system was consolidated by three administrative decisions which now fall to be mentioned, dealing with scales of salaries, superannuation and registration. Two of them, superannuation and registration, required Acts of Parliament, and the third, salaries, was a matter of negotiation and agreement, accepted by the government for schools which receive state-aid.

It has been shown in the chapter on Finance that the Board of Education pays through the Deficiency Grant what may be regarded as roughly half of an L.E.A.'s expenditure upon salaries in schools other than elementary, and 60 per cent. of salaries to teachers in elementary schools. Accordingly the Board have a decided interest in the rates of pay to which they contribute so considerable a proportion. But for the Board (or the Government) to fix rates of pay would be contrary to the general principle on which the central authority is conducted, and would approach dangerously near converting the

profession into a part of the Civil Service. The well-known Burnham Scales were reached by negotiation begun in 1919 for elementary teachers and shortly after for secondary and technical teachers. The first complete Burnham Scales were issued in 1921. The machinery through which they were reached was a Committee constituted of representatives of the L.E.A.'s—the employers—and the teachers—the employed; it was under the valuable chairmanship of Lord Burnham until his death in 1933. The chairman is now the Earl of Onslow. The scales are operative for a fixed number of years before the end of which they have to be reviewed. There have been sundry readjustments in details and amounts in successive revisions. The present scale, due to end in 1931, has been extended to 1932 and now to 1935. Although the scales appear to be of the nature of a contract, the National Government in the crisis of 1931 decreed a  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. reduction, on the recommendation of the May Committee on National Expenditure; this was modified to 10 per cent., half of which deduction was restored in 1934.

In the trying years since the War the scales have been a blessing, but a mixed blessing. Before the Act of 1902, the salaries of all grades of teachers were deplorably low and the early efforts of the L.E.A.'s to raise them produced a sensible relief; but the resultant pay neither corresponded to a rising standard of living nor was worthy of a profession which was more and more becoming recognised as a profession of national concern and importance. The new scales were not only considerably higher but stable instead of fluctuating and, together with superannuation, have given publicly employed teachers security. But the effect of salaries graded according to qualification and length of service is to immobilise teachers by discouraging that free passage from post to post which, within some limits, is a safeguard against petrification. The scales belong to teachers in schools aided by the state: but they have

also had the consequence of bringing up to the same standard or near it the salaries of teachers in other schools, particularly schools under regular governing bodies.

The Superannuation of teachers is not a new practice, for part of the slender attractions to teaching offered in the early days of elementary schools was a small pension at the end of service. But regular pensions were suspended from time to time though breakdown allowances continued. There was no question of the public provision of superannuation for teachers outside elementary schools, for until the end of the century these were not directly in the public service. In 1918 the principle of teachers' superannuation was definitely accepted by the government and a final Act, now operative, was passed in 1925. The lowest age for retirement is 60: a pension is paid which is based upon the teacher's length of service and salary during the last years of service and a lump sum is granted on the same basis. Teachers in universities are not eligible but the universities have a federated scheme for the same purpose. Nor are teachers in schools which are not grant-aided pensionable under the Act: but many of the larger schools have schemes of their own and so have some associations of independent schools.

The registration of teachers became a live topic with those who sought for the improvement of education in the middle of the last century. The College of Preceptors, founded in 1846 and given a Royal Charter in 1849, declared registration to be one of its principal aims. The College was an association of private schoolmasters and mistresses, conscious of the criticisms to which they were exposed and aware that their reputation as a body of teachers suffered from charlatans and incompetents. They wished to guide the public in discriminating between qualified and honest teachers and pretenders. Besides taking active measures to establish teachers' diplomas, the College consistently pressed upon successive

parliaments the need for the registration of teachers. They won a considerable amount of support, but nothing positive was done until the Board of Education Act of 1899, which authorised the formation of a Register and of a Council to administer it. The Register was not a success. Promoters of the idea had had in mind chiefly teachers in secondary schools, for, by the Board's Certificate examinations, elementary teachers were already in a sense registered and recognised. The two classes were therefore registered separately in Columns A and B, the first consisting of certificated teachers, the second of teachers held to be qualified, usually but not exclusively by graduation, to be eligible for secondary schools. Teachers of special subjects, teachers of young children, and teachers in technical schools were left out. All this was clearly unsatisfactory. It seemed as if the authorities were afraid of a united profession. The Register was dropped in 1906 and a new Teachers' Registration Council was authorised by the Administrative Provisions Act of 1907. It was not finally set to work until 1912, when the present Register really began, absorbing the old Register but making no invidious distinctions between classes of teachers. A further change was made in 1927 when the basis of appointment to the Council was altered so as to make it representative of teachers actually registered and not of associations or bodies outside the Register. In 1930 the teachers registered were constituted the Royal Society of Teachers.

Registration is voluntary and about half of the teachers in the country have not joined the Royal Society of Teachers. But the society admits all types of qualified teachers, whether engaged in universities, technical institutes or schools, and whether they are in privately managed or in state-aided institutions. The Council have pursued a cool and careful policy, that of bringing into one society teachers as teachers, without trenching on the ground occupied by various sectional

organisations of teachers, and without claiming either to train aspirants or test applicants, or to control the profession as doctors and lawyers govern their respective professions. The Council has done very great service in bringing into close and intimate contact classes of teachers whose work lies widely apart and in promoting a real corporate feeling. It is consulted by all commissions and committees which examine current educational questions and its non-partisan constitution gives its evidence and its opinion great weight.

Thus registration has won a real, but at present only a partial victory. The English nation rises, but slowly, to the conception that if education is a national concern, if the state takes power to impose on parents an obligation to have their children instructed up to the age of fourteen, the state should also assure itself and the parents whom it in a sense coerces that those who undertake to instruct should be qualified to do so. Only registration, which implies a licence to teach—and this is not necessarily an obligation to fulfil uniform and stereotyped requirements—can effectually guard the public from inefficiency and imposture. This is no infringement of personal liberty and no imposition of a rigid standard. Until registration in some form, preferably elastic, is secured, teachers cannot form a great profession.

## CHAPTER XIII

### HEALTH AND WELFARE

#### i

In the preceding chapters the national system of education has been considered as if it aimed only at the cultivation of intellect and character. We have been concerned with what the Greeks would have called *Mousiké*. But the Greeks held that *μουσική* was only half of the process of education; besides the training of the mind, there was also the training of the body, *gumnastiké, γυμναστική*. If the two terms be broadly interpreted, the former to mean schooling in the usual sense, and the latter to cover attention to the physical condition of the pupil, it may be fairly said that the English national system fulfils, or is in the way of fulfilling, the Greek ideal of a combination of 'Music' and 'Gymnastic'. The former is historically old, a development and a vast expansion of what has long existed in this country. The latter is almost wholly new, the product in fact of the last fifty years, having its original roots in the health movement of the early and middle years of the last century. The great current of sanitary reform which started then and which made the cynically indifferent cry, *sanitas sanitatum, omnia sanitas*, continues with unabated force in its own channels, apart from education. But in the last fifty years it has also mingled with the current of educational reform, with remarkable results. Solitude for public health has now for some time been part of the national consciousness. It is the business of the present chapter to show the very many directions in which this solicitude touches education and co-operates with the more recently acquired solicitude for public education.

The developments now to be considered are wider than the

combating of disease and physical imperfection. They include health of mind as well as health of body. They are responsible for Nursery Schools and Play Centres as well as for School Canteens and schools for the Blind. In fact they are better summed up under Welfare than under Health, welfare as distinct from but not as opposed to instruction. The responsibility which the nation now feels for education in the broadest sense covers welfare as well as instruction; and knowledge is only one of the aims of the national system of education. In the previous chapters attention has been drawn from time to time to the importance in the social, including the educational, history of the English people, of the creation of Local Authorities, in which are united almost all the different activities which local government involves. Nowhere is this unification of greater value than in the region of public health and public welfare. It is a happy circumstance that care for the health and welfare of school children is not dissociated from the concern of Local Authorities with the general welfare of the whole community.

In what follows it will be necessary to resist the temptation to describe measures for social welfare which are allied with but are not strictly part of the national system of education, as we have hitherto defined it. Thus the schools of the Home Office, once called Reformatory and Industrial, henceforward to be known as Approved Schools, which though their main purpose is remedial, are educational also, must be left aside with a bare mention. So also the specific educational efforts which now characterise the administration of prisons and the procedure in dealing with young offenders, must be passed by, as must the numerous agencies by which young people are placed in appropriate employments. Without these examples of welfare, the sphere is sufficiently large and variegated and the proper examination of it is bound to be lengthy.

What was afterwards to be known as the School Medical Service began with the attention given to abnormal children, the Blind, the Deaf, the Physically and Mentally Defective and the Epileptic, in a comprehensive phrase preferred if not invented by one of the earliest supporters of official action, the Afflicted. Institutions and schools for the blind and deaf had been founded many years before any legislative action took place, as one of the many results of the philanthropic impulses of the eighteenth century. They were no doubt extensively used but when the school attendance Acts, passed in 1876 and 1880, were more and more completely enforced, the numbers of deaf and blind or nearly blind children requiring special teaching were revealed. The first Act, concerning these children, without any preparatory Act to *empower* local authorities, and thus pave the way for compulsion, laid it down at once as the *duty* of the authority responsible for school attendance, to see to the education of blind and deaf children in suitable schools from the age of seven to that of sixteen. A corresponding obligation was laid on the parents to send their children to schools, and so far as they were able to contribute to their support. This was passed in 1893, three years after a similar Act had been passed in Scotland. It was only partially effective. The large town school boards as a rule recognised the obligation and fulfilled it by sending deaf and blind boys and girls to the certified schools and in some cases by instituting special classes or schools in their own areas. But the smaller school boards and the school attendance committees of the Poor Law Unions were much less active, and the Education Department could not in effect enforce the Act against dilatory or reluctant authorities. No further Act, however, has been required, for the new L.E.A.'s displayed the same interest as the larger school boards, a small but

significant example of the value of a single and unified authority. Much progress has been made. London is perhaps exceptional from the extent of its area and its resources: it has schools for the blind and the partially blind and for the deaf and the partially deaf, and no child so afflicted need miss his appropriate education. Other authorities are as assiduous and as thorough as their opportunities offer. It may here be remarked that when the Act of 1893 was passed, the teaching of the Deaf was entering upon a new phase. What was known as the Oral Method was coming into vogue: deaf children were taught not only to speak themselves, for very few are really dumb, but to understand the speech of others by lip-reading. The oral method, at first confined to individuals who could afford a long training and very expert tuition, was now adopted in the institutions and even in day classes for the deaf. It excited some controversy, for those who had given an extraordinarily good training in English (reading and composition) under the older method of finger and sign speech feared that the new method would take up too much attention and diminish the content of the earlier education; and also alleged that the oral method, in the best circumstances in which it would be used for large numbers, would cut off the deaf from the society of their fellow sufferers who 'signed' without enabling them to join fully in the society of ordinary speaking people. The oral method proves worth while, however, if it does not restore the deaf quite to a full membership in ordinary life: at the lowest it stimulates the mental activity of the pupils and helps them in many of the common occurrences where simple exchange of conversation is required. At the best the pupil's deafness can hardly be detected except by the rather unreal intonation.

## iii

The next step was to deal with a more complex problem in a tentative way, that of the Defective and Epileptic Children. An Act—the Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act—was passed in 1899 empowering education authorities to ascertain how many children of these unfortunate types existed and to provide suitable instruction in schools and classes. The power was converted into an obligation by a similar Act, 1914, the obligation lying, as with the deaf and blind, upon both authorities and parents. As before, the large school boards took the matter in hand and the weaker authorities did not: the L.E.A.'s of the Act of 1902 have done much on their side, but the problem is by no means finally solved. We may leave aside the Epileptic, as a matter requiring medical expertise. The Defective divide themselves into two main groups, the Physically and the Mentally Defective. The former were originally chiefly crippled children for whom some large school boards made special provision. But since the institution of a school medical service in 1907 physical defect has embraced so many other types that the whole treatment is better discussed in a following section.

The general practice since 1899 has been to distinguish as mentally defective (M.D.) children who are feeble-minded from some congenital deficiency, but are not so weak as to be incapable of being educated at all. In an ordinary class they cannot keep pace with normal children even in acquiring simple reading and calculating: the speed of children much younger than themselves is beyond them: their memory is weak and the power of consecutive attention is very small: they may be lethargic and dull or restless and unstable. But they are not imbecile and those of a higher grade can make remarkable progress under slow and patient instruction, especially on lines of manual work. This class of unfortunates

can hardly become fully responsible citizens, and the aim of their training is to give them enough stability and interest together with enough of common acquirements to enable them to work at humbler tasks under supervision. Though they are not bad enough to need segregation in the interests of society, they cannot be neglected with impunity. Impatient and busy teachers have naturally confused with the M.D.'s dull and slow children, who are backward enough but do possess the wits of the normal child in an undeveloped way. These are 'retarded' children, and their retardation is due to external and not to innate causes, prolonged illness, mal-nutrition, irregular attendance, bad hearing or bad sight, general low vitality. Are these really to be reckoned as M.D.? Up to recent years the M.D.'s were treated as a group apart requiring a special organisation of classes and schools, which were relatively so costly that the merely backward children could not be accepted. The early difficulty was to exclude the ineducable, admitted under a falsely optimistic hope that they might benefit.

The situation has changed since 1928 when a valuable Report was issued by a special Mental Deficiency Committee of experts under the chairmanship of Mr A. H. Wood. Various causes suggested the urgency of reconsidering the M.D. question as it affects schools. It was clearly part of the larger social question of mental deficiency which was being canvassed at the time, but the relations between L.E.A.'s and local M.D. Committees, acting under the Board of Control (instituted in 1913) were not very precise and it was far from clear at what point of defect the mentally feeble should be 'certified' and come under the Board of Control. Nor was it at once obvious how the M.D. schools would stand when the new reorganisation of elementary schools, recommended by the Hadow Report, was put into effect. Further, the general validity of intelligence tests being accepted as a guide if not

a determinant in classifying children, medical officers were ready to make a closer use of them in establishing standards of comparison between different grades of children. Once more the observable results of the experience of some thirty years of M.D. Special Schools were not so reassuring as to justify a large extension of that kind of organisation. The Wood Committee came to some striking conclusions, based to a large extent on a series of careful investigations into the incidence of deficiency in typical school areas. These investigations decidedly suggested that mental deficiency was increasing rather than diminishing and they were made in no alarmist spirit. The two conclusions of the committee relevant to our present purpose are, first, that the M.D. and the backward be regarded as one unit, a group of Retarded children in the educational system; second, that their education should be conducted so far as practicable in the elementary schools.

The first conclusion, if it is accepted, absorbs the dull and backward, whose education has been a constant concern to teachers and increasingly so of late, into a larger group of 'retarded' children, of whom there are probably now some 400,000 in the country. On the other hand the M.D.'s proper, who form over a quarter of the Retarded, are no longer stigmatised as 'softies' but are considered as a specially difficult type of retarded children, only to be segregated where along with retardation they have other defects—in physique, in temperament or in home surroundings. It is taken for granted that the same methods will help both the Defective and the Backward; in any case it is recommended that, like the normal children, they be reviewed on reaching the age of eleven. The discrimination by tests of intelligence, and not by tests of knowledge, should distinguish those who are bright but backward only in the three R's, and who require a little special individual coaching, from those who are decidedly slow. The second conclusion points to the ultimate dis-

appearance of the Special School as the standard method of dealing with M.D.'s. They cannot be merely drafted back into ordinary classes but so far as possible they should be grouped in classes within the usual school framework. They will need specially skilful teachers but they should form a part of the ordinary school community.

This important Report has not yet been officially acted upon. It occasions some controversy, teachers urging that the mentally abnormal pupils should not be taught within schools planned for normal children.

## iv

In chronological order the next development in welfare as associated with education is the formal establishment of the School Medical Service. It will have been evident to a reader of the previous sections that at an early date the various Acts and events described postulated something more than a piece-meal handling of separate problems. The Education Department appointed an inspector with medical qualifications in 1898. The larger school boards also had medical officers who broke ground in many of the directions now taken by the School Medical Service, such as schools for the Blind and Deaf, M.D. schools, and medical inspection. The actual institution of a regular procedure with appropriate officers took place after the passing of the Administrative Provisions Act, 1907. This oddly named Act, introduced to clear up some doubtful points in the 1902 Act and to supplement that Act, contained a sub-section which placed upon the L.E.A. the duty of medically inspecting children on entrance into the elementary school and at other times as the Board of Education may direct, and the power of 'attending to the health and physical condition of the children educated in the public elementary school'. These two clauses, supplemented by the

Acts previously referred to and by other provisions, e.g. regarding verminous children, are the legislative basis of the wide-spread medical service. Additional measures which bear on the same general policy of physical welfare are mentioned in subsequent sections of this chapter. The Ministry of Health Act of 1919 more definitely associated the medical work in schools with the public health service and transferred the headquarters of the medical staff of the Board of Education to the Ministry of Health.

A large volume would be required to recount the successive developments of the school medical service and to describe the full scope of its activities. A brief summary is all that can be attempted. Medical inspection of individual children normally takes place three times in the school life, that is from admission at five or six or below, up to fourteen. An inspection on entry is followed by another at about eight and a final one before leaving. Inspection is in itself valuable to the parent, who is invited and advised or reassured, and to the Health Authority as revealing the extent and incidence of defect and disease. It is of course essential as a preliminary to treatment, but without treatment would be in the air. Broadly speaking, the treatment is provided for children who, without this public provision, are unlikely to receive the medical attention which they need. It is found that just over 20 per cent. of those examined require some remedial treatment. The most prevalent defects are those of vision, enlarged tonsils and adenoids : the next group are skin diseases, specific eye diseases, malnutrition and sundry deformities. The inspection detects the children who need separating for the long process of dealing with epilepsy, crippled limbs, and tuberculosis, and these are usually treated in special institutions or in local hospitals. Apart from these major abnormalities, medical treatment in the school service is principally concerned with less serious ailments, which nevertheless reduce

the physical efficiency of the child and militate against his education. In nearly all areas, it requires a staff of school nurses who carry out many of the doctor's orders and follow up cases which require attention. School Clinics are usually to be found and there is a liaison with the local hospitals. A considerable staff of dentists is engaged, some of them in the counties travelling from village to village. In most cases of defects of vision spectacles are supplied at a cheap rate. Under certain large L.E.A.'s X-ray and orthopedic treatment is given: and a large number of L.E.A.'s arrange for the removal of adenoids.

If the first results of this far-reaching and complicated organisation appear to be depressing, for they seem to reveal a disturbing prevalence of disease in the young population, there is a more hopeful side. The aim of the school medical service as a whole is twofold. Primarily it seeks, within its inevitable limits, to remove or alleviate some of the existing handicaps which prevent ailing children from receiving the full benefit of their schooling. Sir George Newman, the Chief Medical Officer, stresses this aim again and again in his valuable Annual Reports; which, significantly enough, are Board of Education Reports. But the service, as part of the public health service, also aims at stopping in their early stages, when they are most easily attacked, the onset of diseases which may very adversely affect the children after school and in adult life. In the long run, to check, for example, eye strain or caries in teeth before adolescence may and will be of incalculable benefit to the population at large. There are some positive results to record. Ringworm has been all but stamped out. Verminous children are fewer and general cleanliness improves. In conjunction with other activities of the service, such as the Provision of Meals, Physical Exercises and Hygiene, and the advocacy of fresh air and sunshine in schools, and allied with the more specifically

medical Child Welfare and Maternity Clinics, the general standard of health of the young population has been undoubtedly raised. It is very instructive to compare photographs of classes in poor districts, taken in 1932, with the photographs of the same classes in an unchanged district taken fifty years ago. The contrast is striking, and for it the credit must be shared by the medical services with teachers as a whole, who are themselves an auxiliary health force, with the L.E.A.'s, which have vastly improved the material conditions, and with all the other agencies and movements which have contributed to an undoubted rise in the standard of living.

## v

Sir George Newman regretfully points out that, comprehensive as the school medical service is, it is lacking in two directions. It ends when the child leaves school and does not at present cover the earlier years of adolescence, a period where continued attention might clinch the benefits already conferred. It also hardly touches the dangerous years before the child comes to school, when seeds of disease are often sown; or to be quite accurate, while Infant Welfare Clinics and the like afford help to mothers for children in infancy, there is little statutory provision for attention to children from about two up to school age. Mr Fisher's Act of 1918 authorised L.E.A.'s to set up Nursery Schools, and grants were offered in 1919. As customary, this official action was preceded by voluntary experiment which, though very small in scale, attracted much interest and attention. These pioneer schools established certain general methods, since accepted with little question. The children were to be looked after physically, trained in habits of cleanliness, taught to play, allowed to move freely in the school and to perform small duties for themselves, made to rest in the afternoon and given a simple lunch to be taken in a tidy and mannerly fashion; no formal

teaching of even the elements of instruction was attempted. The actual number of schools set up is small, less than fifty in the country, and they have been the first progressive ventures to be postponed during the periods of financial stress since the War.

No account of the Nursery School movement can omit the name of Miss Margaret McMillan, whose Open-Air Nursery School at Deptford is known throughout the world. Boldly abandoning the first conceptions of a nursery school as a small community of twenty or thirty children—and therefore relatively costly—Miss McMillan showed that with adequate room she could accept about 300, distributing them into groups of thirty or so in warm but airy sheds, and not in ordinary classrooms, and conducting the training very much in the open air. ‘Nurture’, which is her conception of the function of the Nursery School, embraces baths, play, rest and three meals at the centre. The children are there from 8 in the morning till 5 o’clock. Their improvement in health is remarkable, and happiness and well-being go without saying. Parents in this poor neighbourhood contribute what they can and the mothers, indirectly and through personal contact, are educated in the care of their children’s health. Before her death Miss McMillan had the satisfaction of seeing the Queen opening a training college for teachers in Nursery Schools in association with the Deptford Open-Air Nursery.

Though the Nursery Schools, officially so named and aided, are so few, the nursery idea has had very definite influences on infants’ schools in general. Manchester, besides helping some nursery schools, transformed the babies’ classes in many poor districts into nursery classes, conducted on the lines of the Nursery School proper. More than this, in schools where special equipment and isolation are difficult, the whole mode of handling the youngest children has been affected for good by the spread of nursery methods. The methods of teachers

trained on Froebelian lines approximate more and more to nursery methods. Training colleges which specially train women for teaching young children, including the Froebel colleges and Gipsy Hill, advocate nursery methods for the youngest pupils.

## vi

The participation of teachers and pupils themselves in measures to promote health training was slow in coming. It was not until the Code of 1900 that instruction in hygiene and regular physical exercises were included in the normal curriculum suggested for elementary schools. Before that time indeed the best schools had varied the usual routine by occasional drill in classroom or playground, and some of the larger school boards engaged drill instructors for their own schools and a few appointed school medical officers. Also some elementary teaching of hygiene was a constituent of the ordinary 'school-method' in the training colleges. But there was little that was systematic and purposive until after 1902. The evidences of physical degeneration which recruiting for the Boer War revealed had startled the public, which was now prepared to accept the co-operation of doctors in education. Worthy managers of schools might at times scoff at tooth-brush drill as an element in education but the practical benefits of the growing medical service soon dispelled any prejudice. The Board of Education appointed men and women to stimulate and direct specific physical training and in 1909 issued a syllabus, based upon the Swedish system and by no means resembling an old fashioned type of company drill. The syllabus, since frequently re-issued with additions, was no mere catalogue of 'jerks' but a reasoned guide with graded exercises and ample illustrations, a standard book on scientific principles, capable of being used not only by experts but by the ordinary teacher in the ordinary school. Instruction in the use of the syllabus was also made an essential part of the

curriculum of training colleges. Thus physical training was definitely established in the elementary schools of the country. It has not been enough to suggest or prescribe forms of such training. The Medical Branch of the Board have urged the appointment of specialist organisers in large areas who should not only see that the official courses are faithfully followed and train teachers by periodical refresher courses, but also control and encourage other forms of physical training and do their best to have the material obstacles removed. In 1931 a training college at Leeds was opened to provide such organisers and there is some hope that the whole business will soon be conducted universally on expert lines.

For the systematic organisation of physical training, thus briefly sketched, is not all that has been done on the 'gymnastic' side of education. The Board of Education in 1902 gave a practical illustration of the new freedom of the elementary school by permitting 'organised games' to be taken during school hours. For this purpose parks and open space have been freely used, and some L.E.A.'s have been able to acquire special large plots of ground as playing fields for elementary schools. Games in which large numbers could take part, and not merely selected teams, have been introduced. Athletics as such are cultivated rather by inter-school athletic contests and competitions. Swimming has also long been encouraged in schools.

In sum a very great deal is now done by the schools in the open air. Not only are classes taught in the open air to a extent once hardly conceivable, but organised excursions extending over a week or so are frequently undertaken by whole classes or groups; these are planned for various purposes with geographical features or historical scenes and buildings or natural history in view, or a combination. An occasional holiday excursion is even arranged for a visit abroad. School camps have been organised by some authorities but the exten-

of this activity is naturally limited. The outside public only faintly realises the extent to which the elementary school regularly carries out its educational activities outside its own walls and the extent to which its pupils 'see the world'. Still less does the public ordinarily appreciate the amount and the multiplicity of the work willingly done by teachers in addition to teaching in classrooms. Teaching in school was not so long ago a narrow routine, it is now an important social service, broadened in purpose and performance as the national conception of what is due to the rising generations has broadened. The Boy Scouts, Girl Guides and similar movements have in the main a parallel aim and they are here and there actively connected with the schools; but very wisely their organisation is kept independent and free from being entangled in any system of education. The efforts also of the Playing Fields Association, directed to securing open spaces for play both in and out of school hours deserve mention, for they have a direct bearing upon the physical training in the schools.

Before leaving the elementary schools, with which the preceding paragraphs have been concerned, mention should be made of Evening Play-Centres with which are associated vacation schools. These owe much to the enthusiasm of Mrs Humphry Ward, who wished to provide for young children in crowded areas something analogous to what is provided for older children by clubs for boys and girls, a place where they could find shelter and interesting occupations out of the streets and their own cramped home surroundings. She advocated the use of day school premises in the evening, when otherwise they were empty. The odd but valuable collection of clauses in the Administrative Provisions Act of 1907 included one to enable the L.E.A.'s, then only a few years old, to establish vacation schools and play-centres. Grants were first paid in 1917. Play-centres are very varied, but there is no attempt to copy the usual procedure of the classroom.

Children's games, toys and books are provided, and the children are 'kept going' or allowed to read and play quietly or busy themselves with handwork of a simple kind, as they would in a well-conducted home.

Another measure, which does not strictly fall under the general subject of this section or of the sections preceding may be noticed at this point. This is the Education (Provision of Meals) Act passed in 1906. It had been remarked that a certain number of children in schools in the poorer areas were so ill-nourished that they could not profit by the teaching in schools. The subject was brought forward in several private bills which failed to win the approval of Parliament before 1906. The government Act of that year authorised the L.E.A.'s to set up or to support Canteen Committees which undertook to supply meals (usually dinner) to necessitous and underfed children. Contributions are collected from parents so far as possible. The number of children fed has varied from time to time, chiefly according to the recurring crises of poverty. The Act was confirmed in the early years of the War and extended to include holidays and other non-school days. It has been found of great service in periods of prolonged distress. At the present day attention is paid especially to the distribution of milk among school children in close association with the milk boards recently established.

## vii

What has been written in this chapter refers to elementary schools. The Education Act of 1921, which codified previous Acts, contained clauses which laid upon L.E.A.'s the duty of medically inspecting pupils under higher education, in county and municipal secondary schools, continuation and other schools under the L.E.A. No scheme as extensive as that which prevails in elementary schools was contemplated, with periodical inspections and simple treatment, but the pupils

were to be seen on admission and if below a satisfactory standard advised to consult their own doctor. At the same time powers similar to those employed in the elementary schools were granted. The happier conditions both in the homes and the schools of most day pupils who come under higher education make the health question perhaps less urgent than in elementary schools. Secondary schools, both new and old, usually have ampler playing fields and there is a tradition of games in the older schools which the new L.E.A. schools are not slow to adopt. The boys and girls are usually better nourished and enjoy more opportunities of fresh air. Yet the Board's Chief Medical Officer has good grounds for urging that the school medical service should concern itself with pupils in all schools, secondary as well as elementary, in the general interest of national welfare. Such inspections as have taken place reveal defects, not in alarming but in regrettable amounts. It is to be presumed that the parents of the more comfortable classes are better able to do what is required for their children than parents of a humbler sort; but evidently the vigilant eye of the school doctor is needed in many cases to detect what requires remedying. The extended powers of the L.E.A. may prove of great value as the new instruction centres for the juvenile unemployed develop.

Private schools may take advantage of the L.E.A. service, if they will. It is one of the drawbacks of the isolation of such schools that they are not yet reckoned habitually as forming an integral part of the educational service of a locality, for which the L.E.A. on the side of health should feel a certain responsibility. The larger independent schools often have their own medical officers and, as a rule, the Preparatory Schools, usually non-local, pay close attention to the health of their pupils. But there are many schools, outside the sphere of L.E.A. work, which would undoubtedly benefit by a closer connection with the L.E.A.

## CHAPTER XIV

### CONCLUSION

#### i

The educational system of England and Wales in its modern shape has now been passed in review, and it remains to recall and summarise its main characteristics and briefly to sketch some of the problems that still await solution.

The principal concern of the previous chapters has been with public education, and the supervision of public education lies almost entirely with the Board of Education as a great department of state. Yet, comprehensive as the function of the Board is, it does not embrace the whole of education that is controlled and aided by the state. Not only have the War Office and the Admiralty each an educational system peculiar to itself, for soldiers and sailors and their children, but the Home Office, the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Agriculture have educational responsibilities within the kingdom; and the Foreign Office along with the Colonial Office in various ways have to do with British subjects outside the British Isles. The Treasury, as paymaster, keeps a watchful eye on all, and even has an education section of its own in the University Grants Committee. It has not been possible to do more than allude in passing to some of these forms of public education in this book. They are not completely shut off in jealous independence from the Board. For the Board has established natural links of co-operation with other departments of state in the country and the experience of the Board's officers is placed at their disposal and is used in various ways. We have not the space to describe the work of Army Schools, Juvenile Instruction centres, schools for

delinquents and prisoners and others, though these institutions are of great interest. The close connection of the Board with the Ministry of Health has been noted in the chapter on Health and Welfare.

This book has also of necessity left aside comparisons and contrasts with Scotland, Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State. Though the general framework in England and Wales does not differ from that of the other countries in the British Isles so much as it does from that of France, Germany and the United States, there are peculiarities in each, both in respect of historical development and in present practice which to be fruitfully depicted would call for explanations too lengthy to be feasible. Scotland, for example, with a long tradition of popular education has a much closer connection between primary and secondary education than England, though Wales now approaches Scotland in this respect. Northern Ireland has not yet completely solved the problem of the relation between voluntary schools and council schools and between the central office and local administration. The Free State has its own ambitions, among them to establish Irish as the native tongue and to set up universal vocational education. But to institute parallels and suggest inferences would take us too far afield.

## ii

The earlier chapters of this book were designed to explain the main lines upon which our educational system has been built. It rests upon the recognition of education as a public service which is vitally necessary in modern times. The recognition came piecemeal and tardily. Until near the beginning of the present century it was not clear that the state need seriously concern itself with doing more than giving fragmentary and occasional financial aid, at any rate beyond elementary education. The two far-reaching Acts, the first

creating a Central Authority and the second Local Authorities, called into being the present organisation that has been described. Both central and local authorities were given wide powers, but neither overrode what had been accomplished without their help. For the principle upon which public authorities have acted, in this as in other departments of national life, has been to supplement private and individual enterprise, to fill up acknowledged deficiencies and to carry forward progress beyond the point at which unaided efforts ceased to be effective. The older principle of self-help without governmental interference had fallen into the background after the middle of the nineteenth century. It was clearly inadequate when the necessities of modern life and the ambitions of the working and the middle classes called emphatically for more and better education. An organised public system became inevitable and the delay in framing it was due as much to the uncertainty what shape it should take as to the remaining unwillingness to abandon the attitude of *laissez-faire*. By a fortunate coincidence the great question of local government had been settled in 1835 for the populous boroughs and in 1888 for the counties. It required an act of bold statesmanship to use them so soon as local authorities for education.

At the same time the public system of education has never been so thoroughgoing as some advocates would desire. It has remained true to the conception that the business of education authorities is fundamentally not to originate but to aid and supplement efforts which have their source outside. The fact that the bulk of elementary and further education, and a good deal of secondary education is carried on by public authorities does not invalidate this generalisation. One of the most striking features of English education is the intermingling of public and private enterprise in what may fairly be called a national service. On many occasions in this book it

has been possible to point out instances of the relations between the state organisation and institutions or movements of independent origin and to show how they range from intimate connection to remoter but yet real subtle influences.

The actual machinery of the public system has been fully explained. The association of central with local authorities, as has been said, is one of constructive partnership. The policy of the Board of Education, while the Board performs its duty of dispensing Parliamentary grant with due guarantees that it is properly expended, is to leave to the L.E.A.'s a large measure of freedom and responsibility. When the L.E.A.'s were new to their work the older tradition of detailed prescription was continued to a certain extent but the kind of control over minutiae which once prevailed has been much relaxed in recent years and under the present regulations is very little in evidence. The rôle of the Board is rather that of adviser and guide than that of mentor. It must necessarily set standards, encourage the active and stimulate the reluctant, while checking extravagance and eccentricity, but it does so without laying down hard and fast lines, beyond what is required by clear and intelligible administration. Some critics, at the time when the Act of 1902 was being discussed, thought it was a mistake to place so heavy a burden as education promised to be upon councils chosen for the general purposes of local government. Their fears have proved groundless. The success of the L.E.A.'s has been such as to induce Parliament to add another function to the councils, that of Public Assistance, formerly administered by the Poor Law Guardians. The relations in the partnership between central and local authorities in England and Wales cannot be paralleled exactly either in the Dominions or abroad. As was shown in the relevant chapter above, the success of the L.E.A.'s is due very largely to the English habit of working through committees and we may here refer once more to the

extent and value of the unpaid services rendered to the community by men and women engaged in the work of local government.

## iii

The years here under review have seen an enormous expansion of public education, and indeed of education generally. Not only have the numbers of pupils in schools substantially grown but the types of institution have multiplied and the opportunities now available to persons of all ages and classes are indefinitely extended. The very conception of the scope of education has been enlarged. The chapter on the health services will have shown how closely education is now associated with welfare, as well as with the acquisition of knowledge. Sixty years ago education in the public mind meant little more than schooling, a period ending for the majority at thirteen or less and rarely continuing beyond. Now the nation is gravely concerned with the years of adolescence and anxious that in some form or other educational influence should be brought to bear upon boys and girls in their teens. Further Education reaches beyond maturity, as has been shown, and in its wider sense embraces more than pedagogic instruction. At the other end increasing attention is being paid to the years before the child goes to school at all, to what is called pre-school education; for it is recognised that if a proper foundation for the education that is desirable in after years is to be laid, the earliest years, even from birth, must not be neglected. At this point education merges into health, but neither here nor later can the two now be dissociated.

The most striking example of the expansion of education in the present century is undoubtedly the growth of secondary schools. This has meant not only the creation of entirely new schools where none existed before, but the increase in size, numbers of pupils and stability of the schools already in

existence. In fact a new habit has arisen and new ambitions have been encouraged in classes which heretofore were content with an education ending at fourteen. It had long been felt, by Matthew Arnold among others, that what industrial and commercial England needed was cheaper secondary education and more schools. The Education Acts of 1899 and 1902, with the approval of Parliament, made it possible to supply both. There are over 400,000 pupils in secondary schools which are in receipt of government grant, nearly 11 for each 1000 of the total population. At the same time the Public Schools have increased in number and size and the private schools seem to have suffered no sensible diminution. Nearly half of the pupils in state-aided schools receive their education free or nearly free, through scholarships and special places; and thus the poorer child has within its reach an education with its opportunities for advance which was almost inaccessible heretofore. How these opportunities are used is shown by the fact that a quarter of the students admitted to universities in 1930-1 were boys and girls who had spent some of their earlier years in the elementary school. Well may a recent writer who wishes to defend the great work of L.E.A.'s entitle his book *The Rising Tide*. In truth the growth of public secondary schools has effectively removed the old reproach that children of the working classes were virtually restricted by the system once in vogue to the elements of education.

A further grievance, if not a reproach, has disappeared as the result of the two great Acts so frequently mentioned. This was more strictly political and sectarian. A powerful group of thinkers had for long held that where public money was spent on education there should be direct public representation on the bodies which administered the funds and controlled education. They carried the day when the Education Act of 1870 created boards which were elected *ad hoc* and

they opposed Mr Balfour's Act as deserting the principle of popular representation. It will be found, however, that the schools and institutions under the public system of education all have public representation of some kind; if this is indirect or partial, as it is in aided schools, it is now accepted as adequate for the purpose. Similarly the sectarian grievance that Nonconformist children were obliged to attend schools under the Church of England, and Nonconformist teachers had not their fair share of the training colleges has been mostly met by the rapid increase of council schools, elementary and secondary, and by the L.E.A. training colleges. With these sources of complaint and dissatisfaction removed education, no longer an occasion for party strife, has had some thirty years of comparative peace.

## iv

It would of course be idle to pretend that the educational system is perfect, or that it escapes criticism among those who are actively engaged in working it. But there is no Platonic ideal of a perfect education laid up in heaven to which our imperfect efforts are directed. What may be claimed is that, no doubt with many failings, English national education during the last thirty years has corresponded more and more closely to the aspirations of various classes in the nation, and that it is elastic enough to admit of growth and readjustment when and where these become necessary.

In the course of the preceding chapters the problems that still remain unsolved have been touched upon as they arose. They may profitably be mentioned in conclusion. It seems likely that the dualism so often emphasised in these pages between the public system controlled and aided by the state and the many independent agencies will continue, unaffected by any totalitarian conception; this dualism seems to be a part of the English character. But without any real surrender

of the rights of individual freedom so much prized, and without any relaxation or undue amplification of the duties of the state in education, the relations between public and private education might be much closer. The Universities are free enough from state interference, yet they accept state aid and render services to the state. Much of what is summed up in Further Education is part of public provision, but it is not inconsistent with private provision with which it works in amicable rivalry. These analogies are capable of extension to other spheres. It may be hoped that those Public schools which stand entirely aloof from the central and local authorities may come to recognise more openly the unity of the purposes which they all pursue, even though they accept no formal connection. More urgent is the desirability of bringing into a vital relation with the national system the 'private' schools of various kinds. There is a rising feeling that the state, in the interests of the children for whose education it assumes responsibility, should no longer disregard those in private schools but bring them under some kind of supervision. On their own part the private schools should be demanding some share, if only through eligibility for scholarships, in the assistance so liberally placed within reach of schools in the public system.

At the end of the War the principal problem in elementary education was the provision of 'advanced instruction for the older and more intelligent children'. A solution was found by the Hadow Reports of the Consultative Committee. But it is not yet fully worked out. The reorganisation of schools for children above eleven plus makes great progress but it is still too early to judge of its final effects; for example, what will be the ultimate relations between the selective central schools and the ordinary secondary schools, what success the non-selective schools will have in dealing with the children who are not 'more intelligent', not to mention the dull and

backward, and how far under the new conditions education in the post-primary school will prove to be a coherent and an intelligible whole? The old elementary school tended to finish indefinitely and with many ragged ends; the new school will have a precise beginning at eleven plus and will have time enough for fresh types of curriculum to be carried through up to fourteen plus at least. To judge by present-day indications, sooner or later the age of leaving may be raised to fifteen. The repercussions not only on secondary schools but also on the evening schools and institutes, introductory to technical education, and on industry cannot yet be estimated.

The provision of secondary schools in their present form appears to have almost reached its limit. There are few areas still unsupplied with secondary education. Indeed there has been manifest in recent years a feeling that children are admitted to a prolonged academic course from which they are not able to derive profit. Whatever be the truth of this, and it is partly due to dissatisfaction with the entrance examination at eleven plus, and partly to the recent economic crisis and the calls for retrenchment, it seems to assume that secondary education differs essentially from other education, being mainly academic and perhaps predominantly literary, and as such advantageous only to a select few. The cry of 'Secondary Education for All' is the Labour Party's challenge to this view, but they seem to mean education prolonged to fifteen or sixteen rather than secondary education as formerly understood. The question that agitates the schools and their critics at the time of writing turns on the First School Examination. Many would dissociate matriculation from it entirely, alleging that university requirements dominate the work of the schools; others wish to see the practical subjects, arts and crafts, placed on an equal footing with the conventional subjects. These points have been discussed in an earlier

chapter and need not be further examined here. In any case the reference upon which the Consultative Committee is now engaged promises a complete survey of education up to sixteen in schools which are not working under the Elementary Code.

With Further Education current problems tend to become merged in the widest social questions of the time. The old divergence between ideals of a liberal education and the practical desirability of a vocational education now takes on a new complexion. Technical education was severely vocational and, if under that name studies were permitted or encouraged that had no immediate utilitarian aim, it was rather a concession *ex gratia*. But the more technical Further Education becomes on one side, the less it seems to respond to the real needs of the large mass of the population engaged in industry and commerce. In this age of machinery the gap between the trained and skilled on the one hand and the unskilled on the other appears to grow wider. Though there are still many intermediate grades, and the path of ambition is not closed, it becomes more probable that technical preparation, other than the most elementary kind, will be no longer positively required for the majority of workers, but will be reserved for the comparatively elect few. As children remain at school till fourteen plus, and perhaps soon till fifteen the elementary preparation may often be accomplished at school and the elaborate courses of introductory training, so necessary thirty years ago, may be no longer called for. When it is remembered that along with machinery and organised mass production has gone a reduction in the hours of labour, it is evident that the purpose of Further Education must more and more be education for leisure. Nor need this be a mere phrase. The previous chapters on Further, including Adult, Education will have indicated how varied are the ways by which the organised schemes of

## CONCLUSION

education under the L.E.A.'s and those of many other agencies provide for education which is not narrowly vocational; not only by bookish study but by the practical arts of music, the drama, craftsmanship, painting and the cultivation of bodily health through exercises, dancing and travel. In certain chapters of his *Year Book of Education* (1934) Lord Eustace Percy urges that the new society which is rapidly being developed needs a new education. And the key to one important side of it is Education for Leisure.

## NOTES

### A. *Acts of Parliament.*

The following is a list of the principal Acts of Parliament affecting education from 1870 onwards. They are arranged chronologically.

- 1870 Mr Forster's Act. *The Elementary Education Act*, 1870. The Act laid down that there should 'be provided in every school district a sufficient amount of accommodation in public elementary schools available for all the children resident in such district, for whose elementary education efficient and suitable accommodation is not otherwise made'. This was the compulsory *provision* of elementary education. Where adequate accommodation was not 'otherwise' forthcoming, a School Board was to be set up to provide it.
- 1876 *The Elementary Education Act*, 1876. By it the parent was obliged to see that his child received elementary education between the ages of five and fourteen. Complete abstinence from employment was enforced under the age of ten.
- 1880 Mr Mundella's Act. *The Elementary Education Act*, 1880. This enforced complete attendance at school up to ten.
- 1889 *The Technical Instruction Act*, 1889.
- 1890 *The Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act*, 1890. These are described in the Notes below on chap. VIII.
- 1899 *The Board of Education Act*, 1899. This created the Board of Education. See chap. III.
- 1902 Mr Balfour's Act. *The Education Act*, 1902. This is sufficiently described in chap. II and elsewhere.
- 1903 *The Education (London) Act*, 1903. Applied the principles of the 1902 Act to London.
- 1907 *The Education (Administrative Provisions) Act*, 1907. Authorised among other duties and powers those of medical inspection.

- 1918 Mr Fisher's Act. *The Education Act, 1918.* This is discussed frequently in the foregoing pages, especially in chaps. VI and VIII. Among other things it made attendance compulsory up to fourteen and abolished half-time and other forms of exemption.
- 1921 *The Education Act, 1921.* Codifies the previous Acts. This Act is now quoted in official documents as the Standard Education Act.

### B. General Bibliography.

*The Schools of England* (Sidgwick and Jackson, 1928), edited by Professor J. Dover Wilson. This book contains seventeen chapters, mostly lectures on various aspects of English Education by acknowledged authorities delivered at King's College, London, in the autumn of 1927. A short bibliography is added to each chapter. Special chapters bearing upon the various sections of the present book will be mentioned below.

The present writer published some outline *Notes for the Study of English Education from 1860 to 1902* (Geo. Bell and Sons, 1929) and some further Notes for the period 1902–30 (Geo. Bell and Sons, 1931).

Two standard works by Professor J. W. Adamson should be consulted at need. The first, *A Short History of Education*, as its title suggests, deals succinctly with education in general, in ancient and modern times. The second, *English Education, 1789–1902*, traces the development of English education up to the Balfour Act.

A valuable work of reference for those who wish to examine the complicated system which preceded the Balfour Act of 1902 is Sir Graham Balfour's *Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland* (Oxford University Press, 1903). The book includes an analysis of the Act of 1902.

### C. Notes on the Chapters.

*Chap. I.* Professor Dover Wilson, who contributed the larger portion of this chapter, has also written a survey of the general development of education in England and Wales as an introduction to his book, *The Schools of England*.

*Chap. II.* The two books mentioned here (pp. 23–30) are *The Board of Education*, by Sir L. A. Selby-Bigge, Permanent Secretary of the Board of Education, 1911–25 (Putnam's), and *Local Government in England*, Redlich and Hirst, 2 vols. (Macmillan, 1903).

p. 37. In 1933 there were 317 L.E.A.'s. Of these 146 had full powers under Part II of the Acts of 1902 and 1903, i.e. 62 county councils, the London County Council and 83 county boroughs. The remainder, i.e. 132 municipal boroughs and 39 urban districts, have Part III powers only, and control only elementary education. On different dates the numbers of municipal boroughs and urban districts will be found to differ slightly as from time to time a district changes its status with the growth of population. Since the Act a few municipal boroughs have become county boroughs.

In 1900, i.e. before the Act of 1902, there were 2545 school boards, large and small; there were also 788 'school attendance committees', often coterminous with Poor Law Unions. They were appointed in 1876 to supplement the school boards. The new L.E.A.'s of course absorbed the functions of both school boards and school attendance committees.

*Chap. III.* Attention may be drawn at this point to the Annual Reports of the Board of Education. Besides a review of the year's work in various directions, the Board frequently include a special introduction, a special chapter or more rarely a special supplement, with a historical review of some special field of the Board's activity. During and after the Great War, for example, the effect of the War on education and the measures taken to restore to ex-soldiers the educational opportunities of which service in the Forces had deprived them were fully described.

References will be made in these notes to some of these special chapters. As bearing upon chap. III an account of the *Origin and Growth of the Board's Inspectorate* in the Report for 1922–3 may be mentioned.

*Chap. IV.* The full title of Mr Sidney Webb's book is *Grants-in-Aid* (Longmans, 1911).

p. 59. *Fee Grant and Aid Grant.* The first was authorised by Lord Salisbury's Government in 1891. It provided for the pay-

ment of 10s. per annum for each child in average attendance at an elementary school between the ages of three and fifteen. The effect was to make elementary education virtually free, for the relatively few schools which had charged more than 3d. per week (i.e. 10s. per annum for a year of forty weeks) had to reduce the fees proportionately. Certain other provisions were introduced to secure that no district should be entirely without free schools. All fees were abolished by the Act of 1918.

The second in 1897 provided a payment to voluntary schools of a sum equivalent to 5s. per pupil. This sum, unlike the Fee Grant, which went to managers of schools or to school boards, was distributed through associations of schools; the committees of the associations could allot lump sums from their share to schools in proportion to their needs. The Aid Grant was a very sensible relief to the schools. A similar relief was granted to necessitous school boards.

*Chap. V. p. 74.* The distribution of elementary schools in 1932 is shown by the following table:

	Nos.	Average attendance
Council Schools	9821	3,363,700
Church of England Schools	9501	1,242,374
Wesleyan Schools	111	17,929
Roman Catholic Schools	1280	345,132
Jewish Schools	13	4,766
Other Schools	252	31,765

*p. 81.* The grants were payable on the average attendance in the school concerned, except as to 'specific subjects'. The 'class subjects' so called were taken by all the classes but, even in examination days, were not tested by individual performance, as the three R's were, but on the efficiency of the classes as a whole. The chief class subjects were English, geography, history, needle-work, of which only two could be taken, one being English. Specific subjects were taught only to the upper classes. There was an imposing variety, including as they did, algebra, French, Latin, domestic economy and some sciences. Only a few of the ordinary schools attempted them. The Board's Annual Report for

elementary schools.

The grants for infants' schools was at the rate of 6s., 4s. or 2s. according to efficiency.

For further information on the curriculum and the grants corresponding the student should consult the *History of English Elementary Education, 1760–1902*, by Professor Frank Smith (University of London Press), or the *History of Elementary Education in England and Wales*, by C. Birchenough (University Tutorial Press), 2nd edition.

p. 82. In the Board's Annual Report for 1913–14 there is an appendix containing a General Report on the North-Western Division. The Report, which covers elementary education in Lancashire and Cheshire, also attempts to estimate the effect of the remarkable Code of 1900.

*Chap. VI.* Each of the Hadow Reports of the Consultative Committee (The Education of the Adolescent, 1926; the Primary School, 1931; Infant and Nursery Schools, 1933) contains a valuable historical chapter by way of introduction. The growth of the idea of post-primary education is fully described in the 1926 Report.

For an appreciation of the work of the public elementary school, the chapter on this subject in *The Schools of England* is worth consulting.

*Chap. VII.* A book in this series, issued by the Cambridge University Press and called *Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century*, is indispensable to those who wish to pursue the subject of secondary education further. The writer, Professor R. L. Archer, traces the growth of secondary education through the century and shows how the confusion into which it had fallen towards the close led up to the Acts of 1889 and 1902. The book is quoted on p. 129.

Lectures were given in 1927 and are published in *The Schools of England* on The Preparatory School, The Boys' Day School, The Boys' Boarding School and The Girls' School.

The Board's Annual Reports contain special sections upon secondary education as follows: 1908–9, a sketch of the history of

secondary education up to 1903 and a review of the progress made to the previous few years; 1911-12, a special chapter on The passage of scholars from public elementary schools to secondary schools since 1902; 1913-14, the inspection of secondary schools by the State; 1923-4, a report on recent developments of secondary schools.

*The Rising Tide*, by Mr J. G. Legge (B. Blackwell, 1929), is an account of the new L.E.A. schools. Mr Legge was for many years Director of Education for Liverpool and writes enthusiastically on what he justifiably calls an 'epic of education'.

*Statistics*. From what is said early in chap. VII and elsewhere, it will be difficult to give exact statistics of children in England and Wales receiving 'secondary' education. The figures given below are of schools with some connection with the Board of Education. Others will be found under chap. XI.

(a) In 1932 there were 432,061 pupils in secondary schools recognised as eligible for grant by the Board. The schools were as follows:

L.E.A. Schools 742, with 242,250 pupils.

Welsh Intermediate Schools 102, with 28,759 pupils.

Aided Schools, Roman Catholic 87, with 23,739 pupils.

Aided Schools, Foundation and other 448, with 137,713 pupils.

(b) It is interesting to notice that of 194 schools represented at the Headmasters' Conference, 70 are on the grant list, 66 are 'recognised as efficient' but claim no grant, 41 are not in England and Wales, and 17 have not applied for inspection or have withdrawn.

(c) Of the numbers in state-aided schools, quoted in (a) above, some 200,000, i.e. 48 per cent., were free pupils on March 31, 1932.

(d) The proportion of pupils in state-aided secondary schools is 10.8 per 1000 of the population; in counties it is 11.5, in county boroughs 10.4, in London 8.2.

*Chaps. VIII, IX. p. 133 [also p. 67].* The three Acts affecting Further Education and preceding the Board of Education Act, 1899 and the Education Act, 1902 were these:

(a) The Local Government Act, 1888, which created County Councils in England and Wales.

(b) The Technical Instruction Act, 1889, which allowed the council of any county or borough 'to supply or aid in supplying technical or manual instruction' and to appoint committees for that purpose.

(c) The Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890, which allotted a large sum annually out of the Customs and Excise Duties.

The first two, as stated in the text, established a kind of precedent for the Act of 1902, giving authority for aiding education to councils elected for the general purposes of local government and enabling rate-aid (up to 1*d.* in the £) to be given to education other than elementary. The Science and Art Department was named as the central authority for the purpose of the Parliamentary Grant available. Technical instruction was defined as 'instruction in the principles of science and art applicable to industries and in the application of special branches of science and art to specific industries or employments'. The Department interpreted the definition, which also added the exclusion of direct trade teaching, very generously and all subjects were admitted except the Classics.

The third was the origin of the 'whisky money'. It was 'handed over to local authorities in place of being paid as compensation to publicans, the purpose for which it had originally been designed'.

A very clear and concise account of technical education and its relation to the State up to 1902 is in Graham Balfour's book on *Educational Systems*, pp. 163 *et seq.*

A chapter on Technical Education, Evening Schools and Day Continuation Schools is in *The Schools of England*: also a chapter on Adult Education.

There is no very complete and full history of Technical Education in England and Wales. A partial history with a review of present-day problems is *Education for Industry and Commerce*, by A. Abbott, until recently chief inspector of the Technical Branch of the Board of Education.

The Annual Reports of the Board contain the following partial reviews which may be usefully consulted: 1911-12, a summary of technical work; 1914-15, 1915-16, munition workers in technical schools; 1924-5, a long first chapter giving a survey of the provision made for Technical and Further Education; 1925-6, a chapter ex-

plaining the variety of technical work as classified in the Regulations described in the present chaps. VIII and IX.

*Humanism in education*, a memorandum on the possibilities of Day Continuation Schools, written by Professor Dover Wilson, 1921, then one of the inspectors of the technological branch of the Board.

*Statistics*. A few statistics will throw a little light on the scope and variety of schools and institutions described in the two chapters on Further Education.

(a) In 1933 there were 191 Junior Technical Schools and Junior Housewifery Schools with 21,445 pupils.

(b) Junior Departments in Art Schools were 35 (1927 pupils).

These are full-time schools for boys or girls usually under eighteen.

(c) Day Continuation Schools were 53, of which 46 were conducted by L.E.A.'s and 7 by voluntary bodies: pupils numbered 15,976, of whom 10,295 were under sixteen and 5,681 over sixteen.

(d) The technical day classes took 27,311 students, of whom 17,121 were eighteen years of age or over, and all but some 3000 were under sixteen.

(e) Senior full-time courses in Technical Colleges took 8,772 students, of whom 1866 were under seventeen.

(f) Art Schools had 55,847 students, of whom over 40,000 were seventeen and over.

(g) The number of evening students in Technical Colleges was estimated at just over 200,000 and the number in Evening Institutes of various kinds as over 650,000.

(h) The number of students in grant-aided classes for Adult Education was 25,321 men and 25,711 women.

*Chap. X.* The handiest book in which to find a conspectus of the origin and the work of universities is *The British Universities*, by Sir C. Grant Robertson, Principal of Birmingham University, published in Benn's Sixpenny Series. This includes a short bibliography of books to be consulted for further details.

*Statistics*. The total number of students in the universities and the university colleges of England and Wales (omitting Hull and Leicester) is 37,428. This figure represents those who are proceeding to their primary degree and are in full-time attendance. In

addition there are men and women engaged on work beyond the first degree, or are in part-time attendance in various capacities. Of the total quoted 9261 are women, London University has 11,194 students (3345 of whom are women), Cambridge 5582 (478 women), Oxford 4771 (815 women), Manchester 3159 (618 women). The rest of the full universities have under 2000, Bristol and Sheffield under 1000 and the youngest university, Reading, 608, with a slight preponderance of women. The university colleges, except Cardiff which has 1127 (328 women), are below 1000.

p. 163. In 1914 Cambridge had accepted a grant from the Treasury in support of the Medical Schools.

p. 166. The situation at Cambridge is peculiar. Women are not reckoned as full members of the university either as graduates or undergraduates. But senior members and tutors of the two colleges may serve as members of the boards of faculties and are eligible for professorships and lectureships.

p. 167. At Oxford and Cambridge a student must have been accepted by a college or by the non-collegiate body before being admitted to the university. At Cambridge the great majority of non-collegiate students are members of Fitzwilliam House, which has now acquired many of the features of college life. The 'unattached' men at Oxford are grouped as members of St Catherine's Society and the women under the Society of Home Students.

*Chap. XI.* There is no book which deals with the subject of this chapter as a whole. Indeed one can hardly be expected, as the various schools and courses independent of the State are very different in origin and scope and are negatively connected by the fact of their independence. Chapters in Professor Dover Wilson's *The Schools of England* deal with boys' conference schools, boarding, like Harrow, and day, like Dame Owen's School: with girls' public schools, with boys' preparatory schools. There is a considerable literature concerning the Public School, especially the biographies of famous schoolmasters, like Thomas Arnold, Edward Thring and more recently Sanderson of Oundle. A good recent book on Public Schools is by Bernard Darwin in the Home University Library.

For similar reasons statistics were not available except in certain cases. In 1932 there were 83 schools quoted in official returns as

Public Schools, with 29,848 pupils; these are all boys' schools except one, which is co-educational. There are 517 members of the Preparatory Schools Association (with 29,808 boys): 240 of these are on the list of schools recognised by the Board of Education (17,308 boys). There is no parallel association of girls' schools for, as pointed out in the chapter, girls' preparatory schools do not form a distinct class as do preparatory schools for boys.

The Independent Schools Association counts some 800 schools: boys' and girls' schools in the association are ordinarily separate establishments, though very small boys may be found in some girls' schools. Private schools other than those belonging to the Associations named, to which may be added the Association of Convent Schools with 13,000 pupils, have no returns available.

272 girls' schools (34,452 pupils) are recognised as efficient and are not aided.

There are said to be some 10,000 private schools, with perhaps 400,000 pupils of all ages.

*Chap. XII. p. 198.* The steady reduction in the size of classes is shown by the decreasing number of classes reported as having more than 50 on the roll in recent years. In 1929 there were 10,883 classes, in 1933 8296, in 1934 there were 6184. The proportion of various types of teachers in elementary schools is as follows (1932). Out of 169,986 75·3 per cent. are certificated and 73·6 per cent. are women. There are 29,766 uncertificated, among whom are 1871 men, a fast diminishing number. In addition 7016 supplementary teachers. There are 3946 graduates (men) and 3626 women.

The Board's Annual Report for 1909-10 contains a special section on the staffing of public elementary schools.

*p. 200.* The recent changes in training colleges are these:

Wood Green Home and Colonial closed entirely.

St John's, Battersea, closed and men absorbed into St Mark's, Chelsea.

Warrington transferred to a new site and rebuilt at Liverpool.

Whitelands rebuilt at Putney.

St Mary's, Hammersmith R.C., transferred to Strawberry Hill and much enlarged.

Southlands Wesleyan transferred to Wimbledon Park and partially rebuilt.

Edgehill undenominational acquired by the Lancashire Education Committee and a new college built at Ormskirk.

Two chapters on the Training of Teachers appear in *The Schools of England*. The fullest information on the same question is in a book by Dr Lance G. E. Jones, published by the Gilchrist Trustees in 1924. Unfortunately the investigation which led to it was too early to enable the author to record the more recent changes.

The Board's Report for 1912-13 has a special chapter on the history of the training of teachers, which is valuable for the account of the earlier years.

*Chap. XIII.* The Annual Reports of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education, Sir George Newman, bear on this chapter. These Reports are very full and the examination of any one will give a conspectus of the medical services. The Report is issued under the title 'The Health of the School Child'.

In 1929 the ordinary Annual Report of the Board contains a summary review of the school medical service since 1908 when it effectively began.

*Chap. XIV.* *The Schools of England* has special chapters on The Education of the Naval Cadet, on Educational Training in the Army and on The Educational Scheme of the Air Force.

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